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WASHINGTON, MARCH 18, 1850. (COPY-RIGHT SECURED.)

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW.

A STORY OF THE ISLAND ESTATE

BY MRS. EMMA D. E. SOUTHWORTH.

BOOK SECOND. III.

A PARLOR STORM. Her's was not that blind, capricious rage, A word can kindle and a word assuage; But the deep workings of a soul unmixed With aught of pity where its wrath had fixed.

Mrs. Armstrong reached her chamber, and by a peal of bells brought Kate Jumper to her

"Have Mr. and Mrs. Stuart-Gordon left the

shores of the Island yet?"

"Yes, madam !" "How long since?"

"An hour, madam !" "Do you know what direction they took ?"

"Up the river toward the falls, madam !"

"It is too late and too far to recall them. You may go !-stay !"

"Madam !" "Go into Mrs. Stuart-Gordon's room and pack to enter. up her wardrobe. We return to Mont Crystal

to-night !" "Yes, madam !"

"And, observe! be silent upon this matter!"

"Yes, madam !" "When you have completed the packing of

pack up my own! Go!22 And thus dismissing her attendant, the lady door: seated herself in stern calmness by the window,

and took out her knotting. The tall mulatto stalked on to the apartments of the bride, to execute her mistress's orders.

The suit of apartments appropriated to Louis and Louise consisted of one bed-chamber, between two dressing-rooms, and connected with them. The dressing-room assigned to Louise was fitted up in the most costly and elegant style. It was a front room on the second floor, and its two tall windows overlooked the terrace, lawn, river, the opposite bank, and the bride's own home, Mont Crystal. Between these two high front windows | you ! hung a tall cheval mirror-and the windows and and wreaths of violets. The carpet on the floor and the paper on the walls were of the same color stricken and pricked to the heart. She was and pattern-blue violets running over a white silent. ground. The bureaus, wardrobes, dressing-tables, &c. were all of that beautiful white satin wood stranger!

that looks so much like ivory. When Kate Jumper stalked into this room, she found it already occupied by a little, old, short, by setting the room in order, but amusing herself | from me, even to sleep-my only child, has ceased by trying on one of her young mistress's exquis- to love me. ite little French hats, and viewing with much self-satisfaction the effect of the soft white velvet and delicate white plumes surrounding a face black, shining, seamed, and wrinkled as a dried

This was Seraphina, the wife of Apollo, and the nurse and waiting maid of all the Mistresses and the Misses Stuart-Gordon for the last fifty years-new the personal attendant of Louise. "Good morning, Mrs. Jumper!" said the

seraph, laying off the white hat and feathers in-Kate Jumper disdained to answer, except by a short nod, and, striding up past the Abigail, she

took the bunch of keys from the dressing-table, and began to unlock the bureaus-"What are you going to do, Mrs. Jumper?"

The mulatto did not think it worth while to

Brissles laces and ribbons! I never 'low anybody to tech um but myself! I say! why don't you hear me? why don't you stop? Are you crazy Stop o' rummidgin' my missis's thingumies-will you? Here, give me the keys! I never seen sich impidence in all my life! You must be cracked! Here! gim me them keys!" and, running and waddling towards her, the little woman possessed herself of the disputed keys with a sud-

Kate Jumper, without speaking, quietly held out her hand to get them again. Scraph hugged started to her feet, and demanded their return.

deed! Rummidgin' my young missis's drawers! You don't look like the mos' honestest person in the worl' no how! I don't know nuffin 'bout your

With a quiet, quick dart of her hand, the mu latto gripped her talons around the throat of Seraph, and choked her until she grew full in the face, and dropped the keys; then, drawing her towards the door, she silently thrust her out, clos-

ed the door, and locked it on the inside. room would not have known what was going on! Seraph, on the floor outside the door, convulsed, heaved, spluttered, sneezed, coughed, and re-

covered herselfde landin' o' de British! I say in dere! you nonation! Pd holler murder, only I wont make a 'fusion to 'sturb de family! But I'll have you put in jail for 'salt and batterin' me! an' for a-

breakin' open of my missis's drawers! Oh, you won't speak! Never you min'! you'll see! you

pure-blooded Virginia negro could cast upon a mulatto! And, having spent the force of her fury on this last expletive, Scraph gathered her- he informed me he was about to be married to self up and waddled down stairs, leaving Kate

Kate pursued her task until she had completed it, even to the strapping of the trunks, and then, taking with her the bunch of keys, she went out of the room, locked the door to prevent the reentrance of her antagonist, Scraph, and took the O'Riley. Louise, what do you think of this markeys to the chamber of Mrs. Armstrong. She riage?" found that lady still seated at the window, knot-

ting with apparent composure. "Have you done?" "Yes, madam, everything is packed and ready, and Mrs. Stuart-Gordon's shawl and hat are laid

out upon the bed for her to wear. Here are the Very good! I shall keep my room until din-

ner. When Mrs. Stuart-Gordon returns, let her know that I expect her here. Now go !"

And she went on very quietly with her knotting. By no outward sign could the most suspicious and acute observer have detected the fell

determination of this pitiless mother!

There she sat by the open window, watching the summer sun slowly decline, unmindful, unconscious of the resplendent beauty of the scene

which would bring Louis and Louise home, and hasten the hour of her departure with her daughter—the hour of her vengeance. There she sat, resolved, though knowing how much Louise loved Louise—aye, and hating her for thus loving him—knowing how this separation would torture Louise, who there is a distinguished. Mother, dear mother, tell to be so extinguished. Mother, dear mother, tell ledge or consent?" hasten the hour of her departure with her daughter—the hour of her vengeance. There she sat, resolved, though knowing how much Louise loved
Louise and hating her for this loving him—
knowing how this separation would torture Louise,
and taking a secret and diabolical pleasure in the
idea of the torture—smiling grimly to herself at
the thought of this separation! Smiling grimly at
the thought of this separation!

TNO, SIT.'

And you leave this roof without his knowledge or consent?''
Oh! sir,'' murmured the poor little girl, in an
almost inaudible voice, "I cannot find him. My
were capable of marrying a dotard for the sake of
the thought of this separation!

TNO, SIT.'

And you leave this roof without his knowledge or consent?''
Oh! sir,'' murmured the poor little girl, in an
almost inaudible voice, "I cannot find him. My
were capable of marrying a dotard for the sake of
get—how evald were deferred.

To separate the type of all womanking in this
to be so extinguished. Mother, dear mother, tell
her not to have him. Save her.''

Oh! sir,'' murmured the poor little girl, in an
almost inaudible voice, "I cannot find him. My
were capable of marrying a dotard for the sake of
get—how evald were this roof without his knowledge or consent?''

Oh! sir,'' murmured the poor little girl, in an
almost inaudible voice, "I cannot find him. My
were capable of marrying a dotard for the sake of
get—how evald were consent?''

To serve the same of the sam the thought that Louise should suffer for having thus transferred her affections—that Louis should besides quite thrown upon Miss O'Riley, who is tears." be agonized for having won from herself this

love—that General Stuart-Gordon should be humiliated for having doubly mortified her, in the disappointment of her ambitious projects both for herself and her daughter. This signal separation and its cause would lay his pride in the dust.

stretched quite across the river, darkening the whole scene, a rap was heard at her door, and soon after Kate Jumper entered—

make her feel at home among us. Tell him, if he wants to marry, to find some lady near his own age, who will not be compelled to wish him dead

Mrs. Stuart-Gordon has just returned, madam, and is coming up to her room to change her dress for dinner. Let me have the keys."

"Did you deliver my message to her?"

"Yes, madam; but she prefers to dress first."

"Louise pays very little regard to my wishes since her marriage," thought the mother, bitterly, then she said, "Go and tell Mrs. Stuart-Gordon

abruptly ceased as she reached the door of her mother's apartment, and rapped before venturing have taken a new start in life. The vista of a the lady.

"Come in, my daughter!" said the voice of the lady, in kinder tones than those she usually employed in speaking to her child, or to any one else Louise opened the door softly, and entered the

"You have a very unladylike manner of enter-Mrs. Stuart-Gordon's wardrobe, return hither to daughter. I am pleased, however, that your boiserousness moderated a little as you neared my

Dear mother, Louis loves to see me m encourages me to be wild—and indeed I lately have a tendency that way, so that I sometimes Oh, I have no doubt in the world that you

forget me. I was not that, however, of which I wished to speak to you. Come and sit by my The girl took the indicated seat, the footstool at her mother's feet, and, laying her arms over her mother's lap, looked up into her face, to see

"Yet for a month past you have neglected and the mirror were curtained and festooned with blue silk and white lace, tied up with ribbons,

This was partly true, as under all the circum-

Liouise hung down her fair head, and the tears

ought up and educated—that I never would send

She was subdued by the thought that her mo-ther—her proud, lofty mother—should bend thus

a supplicant for a share in her child's heart. mother, whose whole and sole thought has been respect!"

for her welfare alone." Louise, filled with remorse, had no power of re-

Yes, she has ceased to love me; me, who remained through all the best years of my life un- plan of yours is impracticable." married for her sake; she has ceased to love me, and I am desolate-a widow, childless, and deso-

Here, with her deep knowledge of human nature, she purposely touched a chord at which the bride's and the daughter's heart vibrated to the quick. With the one idea of the young wife, the one idea of wedded love, filling her mind, she suddenly recollected that her mother was—a widow, and her whole soul filled with an overpowering tenderness of love and pity, and casting her arms

around her mother, she exclaimedwidow! Oh, my dear, dear mother, forgive me that I never thought of that before! A nidom! Oh, my mother, I never knew how much sorrow was in that word before. A widow! Oh. my poor mother, how much, indeed, you must have uffered! A midow! Oh, may the Lord in mercy preserve me from ever becoming—a midow!

And a shudder ran through all her frame.

"Oh, my dear mother, I do love you, will love you, all that you will let me. It is sweet to be

rmitted to love you so, mother."
Mrs. Armstrong soothed and caressed her child. mary thing, it would not then have possessed such all-subduing power over Louise. It was the long-desired, unhoped love, that, suddenly manifesting itself, completely subjected the will of the

And Mrs. Armstrong pressed her to her bosom, moothed back her golden hair, and kissed her nowy brow, while Louise would murmur softly "Oh, it is so sweet to have you love me so, other—mother"—lingering over the last word. mother." slowly, with ineffable tenderness.

Suddenly, Mrs. Armstrong said to her, very

"Now, my daughter, I have something very se-

"Say it, my dear mother."
"Louise, I have been insulted, outraged." "Insulted! outraged!" repeated Louise, looking p in astonishment

Yes, my daughter." "Insulted! you?" she exclaimed, raising herself up in a sitting posture, and gazing at her mother in amazement; mother, you! Who has dared 2 77

'General Stuart-Gordon; no less a person." "General Stuart-Gordon!" reiterated Louise

in stupefied wonder.

"He! Mother, I am thunderstruck! Mother am I awake? Shake me, mother."

'You are awake, Louise." "And sane?-am I sane, mother?"

"It seems to me that I have the nightmare! vish I could rouse myself. General Stuart"-'My dear child, listen; I will tell you all about General Stuart-Gordon informed me yester-

day that he was about to be married."-To be married!" "My dear child, pray cease these vexatious natory repetitions, and listen to me.

"Britannia O'Riley! what! Brighty coming here? Oh "-"Once more, Mrs. Stuart-Gordon-I mean my dear Louise-I must entreat you to cease repeating my words; it impedes and embarrasses me. Well, General Stuart-Gordon informed me, as I said, of his approaching marriage with Miss

"I cannot believe it. It cannot be true."

"Why not?" "It is too unlikely." "Upon what account?-Miss O'Riley's want of birth-fortune?"

"Oh, no; that is nothing." What, then?"

"Why, Brighty's a girl, and General Stuart-Gordon is an old gentleman. Oh, you know, of for her ride, in a white crape shawl, white bonnet course, mother, it was a joke; that was a joke; and veil. Her veil was down, to hide her flowing though I admit that it was almost insulting to jest | tears. with you about it, mother." "My dear, it was no joke; it was truth. This

"No, mother, no; it must be a mistake. It can-"I tell you that I am assured of it beyond a

upon her actions. She sat there, stern, erect, resolute, determined, but calm, except when occasionally that diabolical grin distorted her features, going on with her knotting without dropping one stitch or missing one mesh.

At last, when the sun had sunk behind the mountain, and when the slanting shadows had stretched quite across the river, darkening the whole scene, a rap was heard at her door, and soon after Kate Laws and her inexperience. Tell him to adopt mountain, and when the slanting shadows had stretched quite across the river, darkening the whole scene, a rap was heard at her door, and soon after Kate Laws and her inexperience. Tell him to girly poverty, and her leve of elegance, and her inexperience. Tell him that she will grievously repent it. Tell him to be magnanimous, magnificent, princely. Tell him to adopt make her feel at home among us. Tell him, if he wants to make her feel at home among us. Tell him, if he wants to make her feel at home among us. Tell him, if he wants to make her feel at home among us. all the days of his life, and to leave poor Brighty alone to seek her own share of this world's life,

that I am waiting for her here."

The woman had scarcely left the room before the light step and clear voice of Louise was heard tripping and singing up the stairs, a merry, thrilling quadrille air. The dancing and the singing abruptly ceased as she reached the door of her mother's apparatus of the stairs and the singing abruptly ceased as she reached the door of her mother's apparatus of the stairs and singing and singing up the stairs, a merry, thrilling quadrille air. The dancing and the singing abruptly ceased as she reached the door of her mother's apparatus of the stairs and singing up the stairs, a merry, thrilling quadrille air. The dancing and the singing abruptly ceased as she reached the door of her mother's apparatus of the stairs and singing up the stairs, a merry, thrilling quadrille air. universe seems opening before mc; my soul seems to have dropped its fetters—escaped its prison—and rev is in liberty and light. And Louis has given me this new life, mother!" The brow of the lady darkened. "And that is the reason, mother, why I do so pity dear Brighty. She closes upon herself the prospect of a happing the lady and seems of the lady darkened has been seemally see She closes upon herself the prospect of a nappiness like mine"— Arrested by a feeling of bashfulness, Louise suddenly stopped in the full-flowing stream of her confidences, and blushed.

"Louis! Louis!" exclaimed Louise, as, throw-her recovered her composure and said,

"My daughter, it was of that I wished to talk to you. I have spoken to him upon this subject."

"And he?"

Became offended."

"Used offensive language to me."

" Violent language, Louise."

"Ordered me to quit his roof." what she was about to say—
"MOTHER! o!" exclaimed Louise, starting
"Do you love me, Louise?" asked the lady, in to her feet as the blood rushed to her brow. hat she was about to say—

"Do you love me, Louise?" asked the lady, in serious tone.

"My dear mother! would you only let me love ou?"

"Mother! o!" exclaimed Louise, starting to her feet as the blood rushed to her brow.

"Be calm, my daughter. Be composed; be lady-like. Remember yourself. Recollect that all such manifestations of feeling are vulgar. Be It was now that Louis Stuart-Gordon looked quiet-you see that I am."

"Nor I, mother!"

"Yes! my child has ceased to love me—my child has forsaken her mother for a comparative paths made very straight before her. "What do say that I cannot stay here, mother ! "

"E. lain, my daughter."
"Could I remain under the roof of a house will not desire it! Louis will respect a daughter's feelings. I will entreat him to hire a house and take me hence! We will leave this gorgeous palace to General Stuart-Gordon and any lady ne may be pleased to set over it, and we will go into some humbler house, in which, at least, my Yes, she had ceased to love her mother: her mother can be safe from insult, and secure of

> A new, revised, and improved edition of love in a cottage!" sneered the lady, but quickly remembering that her cue was love and confidence, she replied. my daughter, I thank you; but this "Impracticable!"

"Yes, my daughter! Louis is just eighteen. He yet wants three years of his majority. Until hand, and imposed silence by a gesture full of dighis father gives him. When that period arrives, he has not a dollar but what hand, and imposed silence by a gesture full of dighis father gives him. When that period arrives, he has not a dollar but what hand, and imposed silence by a gesture full of dighis father gives him. he is in possession of all this vast estate. that period arrives, he has no means of hiring a ner, he said—

'My honored father! and my esteemed mother

"My honored father! and my esteemed mother himself or his wife, apart from his father

"You cannot, of course, remain under a roof from which your mother has been expelled!" Louise did not reply: "You do not think of it, I trust, my daughter." Louise was weeping si-"Why do you not answer, my daughter" You do not think of remaining here after I have

een thrust forth." "Mother, I cannot leave Louis!" "My child has ceased to love me-my only

Here followed the same line of argument, the same logic, eloquence, and passion—the same pathos about the widowhood, the solitude, the esolation—that had melted the heart of Louise n the first of this scene. It subdued her again, and more completely than before. While she laid her head, sobbing, upon her mother's lap, she

What am I to do, then, mother? Tell me "Return with me this evening to Mont Crys-

"Mother! mother!" "If Louis loves you, he will follow you thither. I will invite him to remain, and we will all live there together until the majority of Louis puts him in possession of the Island Estate and The Isle of Rays. Will you agree to this, Louise?

"Will you return with me this evening to Mont Crystal? Mother, my heart is breaking, but I will do

You promise this?"

"God bless you, my daughter!"
"God pity me, my mother!" The ringing of the dinner-bell aroused them. Will you go down, mother?" "No, my daughter? "And I, then, mother; what shall I do?"

"Go and prepare for your journey, my daugher; and when you are ready, meet me in the drawing-room.

"Dinner waits, madam," said a servant, rap-

ping softly at the door.

"Let it wait," was the curt reply of the lady, who was adjusting the folds of her ample black In a few minutes more, Mrs. Armstrong, in full carriage costume, descended into the hall. Gen-

eral Stuart-Gordon advanced from the drawingroom door to meet her. "Mrs. Armstrong, I have come to solicit your pardon for the intemperate words untered in my excitement of this morning. Will you honor me by accepting the support of my arm to the drawer.

ing-room, in token of forgiveness?" said he, in a deep, earnest, and deprecating tone and manner.
"Sir!" replied the lady, drawing her majestic figure up to its full height, "I bear no malice myself from their violence in future." With a grave, deep bow, General Stuart-Gor-

don receded, and allowed her to pass. "I ordered my carriage at five o'clock. You will be so good as to see if it waits, sir," she said, in the arrogant tone of an offended despot speaking to a slave, as she sailed on. " Certainly, madam, with pleasure !" replied the

General, with a second and deeper bow.

She entered the drawing-room, and stood there waiting until Louise should join her. She had not long to wait. Louise soon entered, arrayed tears.
"Your carriage attends you, madam!" announced General Stuart-Gordon, reëntering the

Stuart-Gordon with a spring placed himself be-"Are you quite ready, my daughter?" inquired

stretched out before her—a landscape whose gorgeous glory would have caught the breath from any other heholder. There she sat, watching the sun's splendid descent, impatient for its setting, which would bring Louis and Louise home, and Louise h

he spoke, as he replied—

"And I say, madam, that Mrs. Louis does not stir out of this house without her husband's permission being first obtained." "Ha! ha! we shall see! Give me your arm, my daughter!"

"You are very much changed, Louise!" said her mother, in surprise—"very much changed. Who would have supposed that you had reflected so much—that you would have confidence to give stinctively and hurriedly obeyed. stinctively and hurriedly obeyed.

"My daughter, are you mad? What are you doing? Resume your bonnet, and let us go!"

"Do not budge, Mrs. Louis. Do not stir a

"Give me your arm, Louise! I command you!"
"Move at your peril, Mrs. Louis!"
"Am I to be obeyed, Louise?" sternly demanded

ing out her hands, she flew to his arms, as a bird to her nest—flew from the storm of anger raging ound her, and casting her fair arms up around his neck, and burying her head in his bosom, she hung there, palpitating, her pale gold locks and white muslin drapery flowing over his black dress. And Louis! He stood there, encircling her with one arm, while with the other hand he stroked her locks and shoulders—soothing her perturbation—and instinctively mesmerizing her.

Meanwhile the war of words raged on.
"Sir, my daughter returns with me to Mont

up, and with a gesture of the most imposing com-"Yet for a month past you have neglected and forgotten me for a comparative stranger."

"Oh, my dear mother! but you have been out."

This was partly true, as under all the circumstances it was very natural. This was true, and Louise could not deny it. She was conscience
"My daughter, let us talk composedly. It is certain that I cannot remain here!"

"My daughter, let us talk composedly. It is certain that I cannot remain here!" turned full upon him, and commenced-

"Mr. Stuart-Gordon, circumstances have transpired, and are about to transpire, that constrain me to remove my daughter from this house—"
while General Stuart-Gordon was saying— "Louis, this lady designs to separate you and

your wife!"
"My dear father, let me extreat you to grant

And Mrs. Armstrong, in a few curt, haughty

words, explained the motive of her act.
"So you perceive, Louis, that this good lady wishes to separate you from your wife! course you will not consent to any such measure! ecided the General. "My daughter SHALE return with me!" persisted the lady, with awful sternness.

"My son's wife 'SHALL' abide where she is !" concluded the General. Louise started and shuddered in the arms of her husband. Louis pressed her closer to his bosom, stooped and soothed her; and then, erectsomething of grave rebuke in his tone and man-

in-law! you do battle over my wife as though she were a slave in whom both of you possessed a property—to whom both of you laid a claim! This must cease! 'Shall' and 'shall not' are terms that must not be applied to my wife. Commands and threats are things that she must not suffer. Louise is free! free! as God made all creatures; and she must not be deprived of her divine birth-right! of her own God-given freedom! She shall direct her own life, control her own destiny No one shall compel her choice-no one shall Louise shall decide in this matter, as in all others for herself—and," continued the young man

growing a little pale, "and I will abide by her "Good! I accept the conditions!" said Mrs.

Armstrong. "Let Louise decide for herself. too will abide by her decision!" "Bad! I say! it will not do! You commit an error, Louis! You give this girl her own way, and her will must succumb to the first strong will that it encounters-must succumb to her moth She has never been accustomed to self guidance-never will be fit for self-guidance!

"Never, unless she is permitted to guide her-self, my father! Enough! We will have the decision of Louise, and accept it." "And abide by it," chimed in Mrs. Armstrong who felt no doubt in her mind as to the favorable (for her plan) decision of her daughter.

"Zounds! can there be two sides to this ques tion?" exclaimed General Stuart-Gordon, put past his gallantry.
"Look up, Louise. Look up, my own!" murmured Louis, bending over her until his lips were at her ear. "Look up, Louise, and set this vexed question at rest. No one shall constrain your

will. Look up and tell us-will you remain with me or depart with your mother ?" She pressed closer to him, weening, "Say, my darling-will you remain with "With you, Louis-with you, angel, Louis-

-you," murmured Louise, dropping words and tears both in his bosom! "What does she say? You are not to coax her!" exclaimed the mother. "She says that she will remain with me," said

Mrs. Armstrong turned pale, strode up to her daughter, and exclaimed, bitterly and sorrowfully—
"My child! mine only child! do you abandon
"my midowhood! me thus? me in my age! me in my widowhood! me to endless, childless solitude? Oh, Louise!" "Mother! no! no!" exclaimed the poor bride.

suddenly starting from the gentle arms

and throwing herself upon the bosom of her moth-"Mother, no! I will go with you!" "Come, then! your shawl and bonnet-where are they "But Louis! oh, Louis!" once more casting herself in the arms of her husband. Again, my child, will you come ?"

I will go with you! no! stay with Mother! Louis! mother!—oh, mercy, And, broken between conflicting claims and notions, the poor bride and child fainted over the arm of her husband. "THANK Gon!" exclaimed General Stuart

Gordon, savagely, in the tone of an oath, "Take her to her room, Louis; lock the door on the inside, and remain with her. Don't be alarmed—a fainting fit is nothing. Call Scraph to attend you, and be quick, for she will recover in five minutes, and all this trouble will be to go over again!" And Louis, raising her in his arms and calling loudly for assistance, bore her from the room. Mrs. Armstrong started to follow, but General

fore her in the doorway. "Let me pass, sir!"

"No, you shall not, by Heaven, madam! Louis pow is a fool; and you are—Mrs. Armstrong! Thank law

Four years ago, California, a Mexican Province, searcely inhabited and quite unexplored, was unknown even to our usually immoderate desires, except by a harbor, capacious and tranquil, which only statesmen then foresaw would be useful in the oriental commerce of a far distant, if not merely chimerical, future.

merical, future.

A year ago, California was a mere military dependency of our own, and we were celebrating with unanimity and enthusiasm its acquisition, with its newly-discovered but yet untold and untouched mineral wealth, as the most auspicious of many and unparalleled achievements.

To-day, California is a State, more populous than the least and richer than several of the greatest of our thirty States. This same California, thus rich and populous, is here asking admission into the Union, and finds us debating the dissolution of the Union itself.

Union, and finds us debating the dissolution of the Union itself.

No wonder if we are perplexed with ever-changing embarrassments! No wonder if we are appalled by ever-increasing responsibilities! No wonder if we are bewildered by the ever-augmenting magnitude and rapidity of national vicissitudes!

SHALL CALIFORNIA BE RECEIVED? For myself, upon my individual judgment and conscience, I answer, Yes. For myself, as an instructed representative of one of the States, of that one even of the States which is soonest and longest to be pressed in commercial and political rivalry by the new Commonwealth, I answer, Yes. Let California come in. Every new State, whether she come from the East or from the West, every new State, coming from whatever part of the continent she may, is always welcome. But California, that comes from the clime where the west dies away into the rising east; California, which bounds at once the empire and the continent; California, the youthful queen of the Pacific, in her robes of freedom, gorgeously inlaid with

continent; cantornia, the youthultqueen of the Pa-cific, in her robes of freedom, gorgeously inlaid with gold—is doubly welcome.

And now I inquire, first, Why should California be rejected? All the objections are founded only in the circumstances of her coming, and in the organic law which she presents for our confirmation. law which she presents for our confirmation.

1st. California comes unceremoniously, without a preliminary consent of Gongress, and therefore by usurpation. This allegation, I think is not quite true; at least not quite true in spirit. California is true; at least not quite true in spirit. California is not here of her own pure volition. We tore California violentily from her place in the Confederation of Mexican States, and stipulated by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, that the territory should be admitted by States into the American Union as speedily as possible.

possible.

But the letter of the objection still holds. California wes come without a preliminary consent by Congress to form a Constitution. But Michigan and other States presented themselves in the same unauthorized way, and Congress valued the irregularity, and sanctioned the usurpation. California pleads these precedents. Is not the plea sufficient?

But it has been said by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun,] that the Ordinance of 1787 secured to Michigan the right to become a State, when she should have sixty thousand inhabitof 1787 secured to Michigan the right to become a State, when she should have sixty thousand inhabitants. Owing to some neglect, Congress delayed taking the census. And this is said in palliation of the irregularity of Michigan. But California, as has been seen, had a treaty, and Congress, instead of giving previous consent, and instead of giving her the customary Territorial, Government, as they did to Michigan, failed to do either, and thus practically refused both, and so abandoned the new community, under most unpropitious circumstances, to anarchy.

not unnecessarily and presumptuously, as Michiglid. She made a Constitution for herself, and comes here under the law, the paramount law of selfcomes here under the law, the paramount law of self-preservation.

In that she stands justified. Indeed, California is more than justified. She was a colony, a military colony. All colonies, especially military colonies, are incongruous with our political system, and they are equally open to corruption and exposed to oppression. They are, therefore, not more unfortunate in their own proper condition than fruitful of dangers to the parent Democracy. California, then, acted wisely and well in establishing self-government. She deserves not rebuke, but praise and approbation. Nor does this objection come with a good grace from those who offer it. If California were now content to receive only a Territorial charter, we could not agree to grant it without an inhibition of slavery, which, in that case, being a Federal act, would render the attitude of California, as a Territory, even more offensive to those who now repel her than she is as a State, with the same inhibition in the Constitution of her own voluntary choice.

ution of her own voluntary choice. A second objection is, California has assigned her A second objection is, Causorian has assigned her own boundaries without the previous authority of Congress. But she was left to organize herself without any boundaries fixed by previous law or by prescription. She was obliged, therefore, to assume boundaries, since without boundaries she must have re-

A third objection is, that California is too large. I answer, first, there is no common standard of States. California, although greater than many, is less than one of the States.

Secondly. California, if too large, may be divided with her own consent, which is all the security we have for reducing the magnitude and averting the preponderance of Texas.

preponderance of Texas.

Thirdly, The boundaries of California seem not at all unnatural. The territory circumscribed is altogether contiguous and compact.

The boundaries are convenient. They Fourthly. The boundaries are convenient. They mbrace only inhabited portions of the country, ommercially connected with the port of San Fran-

cisco. No one has pretended to offer boundaries more in harmony with the physical outlines of the region concerned, or more convenient for civil ad-But to draw closer to the question, what shall be indaries of a new State concerns—

The State herself, and California of course

s content.

Secondly. Adjacent communities. Oregon does not complain of encroachment, and there is no other adjacent community to complain.

Thirdly. The other States of the Union. The arger the Pacific States, the smaller will be their relative power in the Senate. All the States now here are Atlantic States and inland States, and

surely they may well indulge California in the largest liberty of boundaries.

The fourth objection to the admission of Califor-nia is, that no census had been taken, and no laws prescribing the qualifications of suffrage and the apportionment of Representatives in Convention, evisited before her Convention was held xisted before her Convention was held.

I answer, California was left to act ab initio. She must begin somewhere, without a census, and without such laws. The Pilgrim Fathers began in the same way on beard the Mayflower; and, since it has been objected that some of the electors in California may have been aliens, I add, that all of the Pilgrim Fathers were aliens and strangers to the Camerin Fathers were aliens and strangers and strangers and strangers are the strangers and strangers and strangers are the strangers and strangers and strangers are strangers and strangers are strangers and strangers and strangers are grim Fathers were aliens and strangers to the Com-

grim Fathers were allens and strangers to the Commonwealth of Plymouth.

Again, the objection may well be waived, if the Constitution of California is satisfactory, first to herself, secondly to the United States.

First. Not a murmur of discontent has followed California to this place. Second. As to ourselves, we confine our inquiries bout the constitution of a new State to four things—1st. The boundaries assumed; and I have con-

sidered that point in this case already.

2d. That the domain within the State is secured to us. And it is admitted that this has been prop-3d That the Constitution shall be republican, and not aristocratic or monarchical. In this case the only objection is that the Constitution, inasmuch only objection is that the Constitution, hasmuch as it inhibits slavery, is altogether too republican.

4th. That the representation claimed shall be just and equal. No one denies that the population of California, is sufficient to demand two representatives on the federal basis; and, secondly, a new census is at hand, and the error, if there is one, will be immediately corrected.

census is at hand, and the error, if there is one, will be immediately corrected.

The fifth objection is—California comes under Executive influence. 1st. In her coming as a free State. 2d. In her coming at all.

The first charge rests on suspicion only, is peremptorily denied, and the denial is not controverted by proofs. I dismiss it altogether.

The second is true, to the extent that the present President advised the people of California, that, having been left without any civil government, under the military supervision of the Executive, without any authority of law whatever, the adoption of a Constitution, subject to the approval of Congress, would be regarded favorably by the President. Only a year ago, it was complained that the exercise of the military power to maintain law and order in California, was a fearful innovation. But now the wind has changed, and blows even stronger from the wind has changed, and blows even stronger from the

a more serious or more dangefous usurpation of power than the act of the present eminent Chief Magistrate, in endeavoring to induce legislative au-thority to relieve him from the exercise of military

equal nearly to one-fourth of the present aggregate population of the globe, and double the population of Europe at the time of the discovery of America. But the advance of population on the Pacific will far exceed what has heretofore occurred on the Atlantic coast, while emigration even here is outstripping the calculations on which the estimates are There are silver and cold in the mountains.

ping the calculations on which the estimates are based. There are silver and gold in the mountains and ravines of California. The granite of New England and New York is barren.

Allowing due consideration to the increasing density of our population, we are safe in assuming, that long before this mass shall have attained the maximum of numbers indicated, the entire width of our possessions from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean will be covered by it, and be brought into social maturity and complete political organization.

The question now arises, Shall this one great people, having a common origin, a common language, a common religion, common sentiments, interests, sympathies, and hopes, remain one political State, one nation, one republic, or shall it be broken into two conflicting and probably hostile nations or republics? There cannot ultimately be more than two. For the habit of association is already formed, two. For the habit of association is already formed, as the interests of mutual intercourse arebeing formed. It is already ascertained where the centre of political power must rest. It must rest in the agricultural interests and masses, who will occupy the interior of the continent. These masses, if they cannot all command access to both oceans, will not be obstruct-

cent as this; which, while it embraces all the vary ing climates of the temperate zone, and is traversed by wide expanding lakes and long-branching rivers offers supplies on the Atlantic shores to the over crowded nations of Europe, while on the Pacific coast it intercepts the commerce of the Indies. The nation thus situated, and enjoying forest, mineral, and agricultural resources unequalled, if endowed also with moral energies adequate to the achievement of great enterprises, and favored with a Government adapted to their character and condition, must com mand the empire of the seas, which alone is real em

physical and intellectual vigor, courage, invention, and enterprise; and the systems of education pre-vailing among us open to all the stores of human science and art.

The old world and the past were allotted by Providence to the pupilage of mankind, under the hard discipline of arbitrary power, quelling the violence of human passions. The new world and the future seem to have been appointed for the maturity of mankind, with the development of self-government operating in obedience to reason and judgment.

We have thoroughly tried our novel system of Democratic Federal Government, with its complex, yet harmonious and effective combination of distinct local elective agencies, for the conduct of domestic affairs, and its common central elective agencies, for the regulation of internal interests and of intercourse the regulation of internal interests and of Intercourse with foreign nations; and we know, that it is a system equally cohesive in its parts, and capable of all desirable expansion; and that it is a system, moreover, perfectly adapted to secure domestic tranquillity, while it brings into activity all the elements of national aggrandizement. The Atlantic States, through their commercial, social, and political affinities and sympathies, are steadily renovating the Governments and the social constitutions of Europe and of Africa. The Pacific States must necessarily perform the same sublime and beneficent functions perform the same sublime and beneficent functions in Asia. If, then, the American people shall remain an undivided nation, the ripening civilization of the West, after a separation growing wider and wider

new and more perfect civilization will arise to bless the earth, under the sway of our own cherished and beneficent democratic institutions. We may then reasonably hope for greatness, felici-Whether a destrily so magnineent would be only par-tially defeated, or whether it would be altogether lost by a relaxation of that grasp, surpasses our wisdom to determine, and happily it is not important to be de-termined. It is enough, if we agree that expectations so grand, yet so reasonable and so just, ought not to be in any degree disappointed.

And now it seems to me, that the perpetual unity

of our empire hangs on the decision of this day and of this hour.

California is already a State, a complete and fully appointed State. She never again can be less than that. She can never again be a province or a colony; nor can she be made to shrink and shrivel into

the proportions of a federal dependent Territory. California, then, henceforth and forever, must be, what she is now, a State.

The question whether she shall be one of the United States of America has depended on her and on us. Her election has been made. Our consent along regains suspended; and that consent must be propounce. ed now or never. I say now or never. Nothin vents it now, but want of agreement among our Our harmony cannot increase while this questi our narmony cannot increase while this question remains open. We shall never agree to admit California, unless we agree now. Nor will California abide delay. I do not say that she contemplates independence; but, if she does not, it is because she does not anticipate rejection. Do you say that she can have no motive? Consider, then, her attitude if rejected. She needs a constitution, a legislature, and magistrates; she needs titles to that golden domain of ours within her borders; good titles, too; and you must give them on your own terms, or she must take them without your leave. She needs a mint, a custom-house, wherves, hospitals, and institutions of learning; she needs fortifications, and roads, and railroads; she needs the protection of an army and a navy; either your stars and stripes must wave over her ports and her fleets, or she must raise aloft a standard for herself; she needs, at least, to know whether you are friends or enemies; and, finally, she qual share of yours, or sovereignty and independence Will you say that California could not aggrandize

herself by separation? Would it, then, be a mean ambition to set up within fifty years, on the Pacific coast, monuments like those which we think two

on the Atlantic coast?

Will you say that California has no ability to become independent? She has the same moral ability for enterprise that inheres in us, and that ability implies command of all physical means. She has advantages of position. She is practically further removed from you than England. You cannot reach her by railroad, nor by unbroken steam navigation. You can send no armies over the prairie, the mountain, and the desert, nor across the remote and narrow Isthmus within a foreign jurisdiction, nor around the Cane of Storms. You may send a

possibility of a doubt. Besides, I am not apt to be mistaken in anything, my daughter?"

"But poor, daw Brighty—to be lose is so."

"And that is the light in which you view it, Louise. From, had you been never so poor, could be the besides of the strength of the strength of the strength of the whole, is immerial. In a good lose we want of the whole, is immerial. The appearing in the whole we make the objection, whether true in part, or being destroyed by the crucky of her necessity. The strength of the whole, is immerial. The appearing in the whole we make the objection, whether true in part, or being destroyed by the crucky of her necessity."

"Where are you going, Louise?" inquired the Callor that is the light in which you view it, and that is the light in which you view it, and that is the light in which you view it. The continuation of the whole, is immerial. The appearing the week of the whole, it is marked that the whole we want to whole the part of the part

pleasure. Our successors will exercise their pleasure about following them, just as we have done in such cases.

I answer 3d. States, nations, and empires, are apt to be peculiarly capricious, not only as to the time, but even as to the manner of their being born, and as to their subsequent political changes. They are not accustomed to conform to precedents. California aprang from the head of the nation, not only complete in proportions and full armed, but ripe for affiliation with its members.

I proceed now to state my reasons for the opinion that California overar To be Admirable. The population of the United States consists of natives of Caucasian origin, and exotics of the same derivation. The native mass rapidly assimilates to itself and absorbs the exotic, and thus these constitute one homogeneous people. The Affican race, bond and free, and the aborigines, savage and civilized, being incapable of such assimilation and absorption, remain distinct, and, owing to their peculiar condition, they constitute infeiror masses, and may be regarded as accidental if not disturbing political forces. The Atlantic shore, and following an obvious law, is seen continually and rapidly spreading itself westward year by year, subduing the wilderness and the prairie, and thus extending this great political community, which, as fast as it advances, breaks into distinct states for municipal purposes only, while the whole constitutes one entire contiguous and compact nation.

Well established calculations in political arithmetic enable us to say that the aggregate population of the mation, now is a constitute one entire contiguous and compact nation.

Well established calculations in political arithmetic enable us to say that the aggregate population of the mation now is 2000,000,000 and 000 do 000 d

mixed consideration of liberty, gold, and power, on the Pacific coast.

This view of legislative compromises is not new. It has widely prevailed, and many of the State Constitutions interdict the introduction of more than one subject into one bill submitted for legislative action.

iamentary eloquence:

But, sir, if I could overcome my repugnance to compromises in general, I should object to this one, on the ground of the inequality and incongruity of the interests to be compromised. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted, California the continent. These masses, if they cannot all command access to both oceans, will not be obstructed in their approaches to that one, which offers the greatest facilities to their commerce.

Shall the American people, then, be divided? Before deciding on this question, let us consider our power, and capabilities.

The world continent. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted. California ought to come in, and must come in, whether slavery stands or falls in the District of Columbia; whether slavery stands or falls in the point of Columbia; whether slavery stands or falls in the slavery st

California if she came here seeking admission as California if she came here seeking admission as a slave State.

Mr. SEWARD. I reply, as I said before, that even if California had come as a slave State, yet coming under the extraordinary circums annes I have described, and in view of the consequences of a dismemberment of the empire, consequent upon her rejection, I should have voted for her admission, even though she had come as a slave State. But I should not have voted for her admission otherwise. I remark in the next place, that consent on my part would be disingenuous and fraudulent, because the compromise would be unavailing.

It is now avowed by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun,] that nothing will satisfy the slave States but a compromise that will convince them that they can remain in the Union consistently with their honor and their safety. And what are the concessions which will have that effect? Here they are, in the words of that Senator:

"The North must do justice by conceding to the South an equal right in the acquired territory, and do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled—cease the agitation of the slave question, and provide for the insertion of a provision in the Constitution, by an amendment, which will restore to the South in substance the powers the possessed of projecting

herself, before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this Government."

These terms amount to this, that the free States having already, or although they may hereafter have, majorities of States, majorities of population, and majorities in both Houses of Congress, shall concede to the slave States, being in a minority in both, the unequal advantage of an equality. That is, that we shall alter the Constitution so as to convert the Government from a national democracy, operating by a constitutional majority of voices, into a federal alliance, in which the minority shall have a veto against the majority. And this is to return to the original articles of confederation.

I will not stop to protest against the injustice or the inexpediency of an innovation which, if it was practicable, would be so entirely subversive of the principle of democratic institutions. It is enough to say that it is totally impracticable. The free States, Northern and Western, acquiesced in the long and nearly unbroken ascendancy of the slave States under the Constitution, because the result happened under the Constitution. But they have honor and interests to preserve, and there is nothing in the nature of mankind or in the character of that people to induce an expectation that they, loyal as they are, are insensible to the duty of defending them. But the scheme would still be impracticable, even if this difficulty were overcome. What is proposed is a political equilibrium. Every political equilibrium requires a physical equilibrium to rest upon, and is valueless without it. To constitute a physical equilibrium between the slave States and the free States, requires first, an equality of territory, or some near approximation. And this is already lost. But it re-

norum between the slave Spaces and the free States, requires first, an equality of territory, or some near approximation. And this is already lost. But it requires much more than this. It requires an equality or a proximate equality in the number of slaves and freemen. And this must be perpetual.

But the census of 1840 gives a slave basis of only 2,500,000, and a free basis of 14,500,000. And the population on the slave basis increases in the ratio of 25 per cent. for ten years, while that on the free basis advances at the rate of 38 per cent. The accelerating movement of the free population, now basis advances at the rate of 38 per cent. The accelerating movement of the free population, now complained of, will occupy the new Territories with pioneers, and every day increases the difficulty of forcing or insinuating slavery into regions which freemen have pre-occupied. And if this were possible, the African slave trade is prohibited, and the domestic increase is not sufficient to supply the new slave States which are expected to maintain the equilibrium. The theory of a new political equilibrium claims that it once existed, and has been lost. When lost, and how? It began to be lost in 1787, when preliminary arrangements were made to admit five new free States in the Northwest Territory, two years before the Constitution was finally adopted; that is, it began to be lost two years before it began to exist!

adopted; that is, it began to be lost two years before it began to exist!

Sir, the equilibrium, if restored, would be lost again and lost more rapidly than it was before. The progress of the free population is to be accelerated by increased emigration from Europe and Asia, while that of the slaves is to be checked and retarded by inevitable partial emancipation. "Nothing," says Montesquieu, "reduces a man so low as always to see freemen, and yetnot be free. Persons in that condition are natural enemies of the State, and their numbers would be dangerous if increased too high." Sir, the fugitive slave colonies and the emancipated slave colonies in the free States, in Canada, and in Liberia, are the best guaranties South Carolina has Liberia, are the best guaranties South Carolina has for the perpetuity of slavery.

Nor would success attend any of the details of the compromise. And, first, I advert to the proposed alteration of the law concerning fugitives from service or labor. I shall speak on this as on all subjects, with due respect, but yet frankly and with-

subjects, with due respect, but yet frankly and with out reservation. The Constitution contains only [SER FOURTH PAGE.]

Since the swearing to the Constitution, the Chambers have continued their labors. They are now entirely unable to resist the King in any thing he demands, but contrive to show their ill temper in various ways. For instance, last week, when the ministry insisted on the Chambers pass ing without notice the matter in dispute, as to the jurisdictic of the Erfurt tribunal over the difficulty in Mechlenburg Schwerin, the Chambers declared by a large majority in favor of the tribunal. But this ill temper is transitory. In all important matters they do as they are bid. This may be seen by the votes on these im-

portant laws-that on clubs, that on the press, and that on the communes. In the first, many such as giving previous notice to the police, admitting the police, heavy penalties for seditious language, &c; in the second, the newspapers hereafter commenced are subjected to the necessity of depositing a certain amount of money with the Government, as security for their sobriety of language; a daily must deposite four thousand dol lars, and others in proportion. Papers now in existence are to be subjected to this clause, on condemnation by a tribunal for language calculated to excite. And here let me say, that a German paper is little calculated to excite by any quality except its long-windedness and stupidity, the sense being to the words as a grain of wheat to a bushel of chaff. You shall hunt for it all day, and not find it-and if you do, it is not worth the search. There is but one political journal in Berlin, which can say a thing plainly, and knows when it is said. I refer to the National. By the chise is taken from all in the country who do no pay two dollars annual tax, and from all in the pay two doings attention of large cities who do not possess an income varying, according to the size of the city, from two to the Union, but he predicted the worst consequenties the undered dollars. This cuts off at least onethird of the people from the right to vote.

Assembly of last year, for encouraging the people to refuse the tax. The court-room is crowded daily, and a great impression has been made on the public mind by the debates. It is not easy to foresee what the result will be. The Government is determined to the public mind by the debates of the public mind by the debates. The Government is determined to the public mind by the debates. The Government is determined to the public mind by the debates. The Government is determined to the public mind by the debates. The Government is determined to the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is determined to the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is determined to the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is a superior of the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is a superior of the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is a superior of the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is a superior of the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is a superior of the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is a superior of the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is a superior of the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is a superior of the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the debates. The Government is a superior of the public mind by the debates are the public mind by the de is determined to convict, but it is likely that the greater part of those indicted will be acquitted. Verdicts of "not guilty" have recently been given, in similar cases, at Bromberg, Wierbaden, Breslau, and several other places. The Government is anxious for the introduction of its Sta Chamber court for political offences. Several of the jurymen, in the case now pending here, have past offences. The petition was flatly rejected, the minister answering that his Majesty had granted two amnesties already, and the democrats haved no better before than after.

The Habeas Corpus act has just been promulthe law be faithfully administered, it will form will. an epoch in the history of the practice in Prussia. Heretofore there has been none at all, but the Government arrested at pleasure, and frequently left a person in prison several years without a

A ministerial crisis is now pending in Hanover. The King wishes to bind himself closely to the policy of Austria; the ministry, on the contrary, wishes to keep free from all engagement with other The result may be important in the history of North Germany. An article in a Hanover paper on the Interim at Frankfort has excited a great deal of attention. It is said to be from the pen of Struve, the Prime Minister. He says that the four Kings, as the Kings of Bavaria, Wur temberg, Hanover, and Saxony, are called, will never consent to the prolongation of the Interim, , but he hints that the great States of Prussia The war question continues to occupy the public

The probability seems to be, that war will not be commenced against Switzerland, unless the conservatives in France get the victory at the 10th of March elections. If the result of the vote is, that the President and his supporters can hold down the masses in France, it seems pretty well resolved on that Switzerland must be at overrun, and reduced to the situation she held in 1846. The complaint against the harboring of fugitives is said by Switzerland to be a pretext put forward for use in France. The real demand is, that the old Government by Cantons shall be re-introduced, and the democracy The Swiss Government has long ago offered to do all in its power to give satisfaction zerland are closely watched, and are not permitted Why are not they attacked? The Assemblee Nationale of Paris, a good authority on such matters, says that the attack has been deferred until the 10th of March. In the mean time, Prussia is preparing for war.

The Chambers have just granted an extra credit of eighteen millions, to meet an expected increase of army expenses during the present year. The question, however, is still involved in mystery. louds may lift from it before the departure Yours, &c. W. B.

## BENNETT'S SALOON:

We recently called the attention of our readers to the beautiful Daguerreotypes taken by Bennett, at his gallery on Pennsylvania avenue, near th street, and we now take pleasure in noticing the splendid manner in which he has fitted up his reception and sitting-rooms. We are confident that no similar establishment in this, or in any other city, can surpass it in the elegance of its

The reception and exhibition room is furnished with appropriate furniture of the most elegant and costly description, and resembles the boudoir of a fashionable lady more than a public reception room. Immediately in the rear of this room is a private parlor intended for the express accommo- sity, and constitutionality of the Ordinance of dation of ladies who are in waiting for a sitting, and who prefer seclusion to the bustle of

The sitting-room in the story above is in perfect keeping with the rooms below, and is furnished with all the necessary appliances for the production of perfect daguerreotypes. The light by which portraits are taken is introduced from the roof of the building, and so arranged that the lights and shades of the picture are produced with unusual strength and distinctness, thus rendering the likeness more correct and life-like than those taken by the ordinary mode.

Taken as a whole the establishment of Mr. Benbe proud, and we are sure the enterprising proprietor will receive that encouragement his en terprise and taste so well merit. - Washington

The Lowell Courier says that the rush for California from that city and vicinity seems to be as great as ever. Forty emigrants started in one train, to take the steamer from New York. Quite a number went from the different corporabusiness there.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE AND THE BRITISH

QUARTERLY REVIEWS.

OWING to the late revolutions and counter-revolutions among the nations of Surope, which have followed each other in such quick succession, and of which "the end is not yet," the leading periodicals of Bricain have become invested with a degree of interest hitherto unknown. They occupy a middle ground between the hasty, disjointed, and necessarily imperfect records of the newspapers, and the elaborate and ponderous treaties to be furnished by the historian at a future day. The American publishers, therefore, deem it proper to call renewed attention to these periodicals, and the very low prices at which they are offered to subscribers. The following is their list, viz:

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, and BLACKWOOD'S EDINB'GH MAGAZINE

BLACKWOOD'S EDINB'GH MAGAZINE

Pin these periodicals are contained the views, moderately though firmly expressed, of the three great parties in England—Tory, Whig, and Radical. "Blackwood" and the "London Quarterly" are Tory, the "Edinburgh Review" Whig, and the "Westminster Keview" Liberal. The "North British Review" owes its establishment to the last great ecclesiastical movement in Scotland, and is not ultra in its views on any one of the grand departments of human knowledge; it was originally edited by Dr. Chalmees, and now, since his death, is conducted by his son-in-law, Dr. Hanna, associated with Sir David Brewster. Its literary character is of the very highest order.

The "Westminster," though reprinted under that title only, is published in England under the title of the "Foreign Quarterly and Westminster," it being in fact a union of the two Reviews formerly published and reprinted under separate titles. It has therefore the advantage, by this combination, of uniting in one work the best features of both, as heretofore issued.

The above Periodicals are reprinted in New York, immediately on their arrival by the British steamers, in a beautiful clear type, on fine white paper, and are faithful copies of the originals—Blackbood's Magazine being an exact fac-simile of the Edinburgh edition.

TERMS.

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LEONARD SCOTT & CO., THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, MARCH 21, 1850. OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

The reader will find two highly interesting letof latest date is commenced on the 4th page.

COMMUNICATIONS.

It is of no use for any one to send us communications now. We cannot publish them. Scarcely can we find room for ourselves; and even advertisers have been crowded out once or twice lately. by Congressional speeches. Were the Era ten times larger than it is, we could fill it with communications already accumulated in our pigeon-

The House, after the transaction of the usual morning business, and after the disposition of

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS ON TUESDAY.

priation Bill.

In the Senate, Mr. Badger closed his speech on sions of the North. Slavery. He denounced the Wilmot Proviso, third law—that on communes—the electoral fran- but admitted, as we understand, that Congress has the power to pass it. He did not think its

The leading object of interest in Berlin, at the present time, is the trial of the 42 members of the some time, gave way for a motion to adjourn. Mr. Hale followed him, but, after speaking

#### REVIEW OF THE WEEK.

THE HOUSE.

RESPONSE TO MR. WEBSTER .- Since the issue of our last number, we have had the pleasure of seeing a full report of the speech of the Hon. Orin Fowler of Massachusetts, delivpetitioned the King to grant an amnesty for all ered in the House of Representatives, on the 11th inst. Being the first voice from Massachu- lege at Philadelphia: Zebulon M. P. Anderson setts after the great effort of Mr. Webster, we were curious to learn how far it would respond to his sentiments. Some of the Representatives Its provisions are better than those of from that State, we knew would not sustain him, similar laws in several of the United States. If and it is quite uncertain whether any of them

> The speech of Mr. Fowler is sound, sensible, and vigorous and it is obvious that parts of it are intended to furn a a reply to certain portions of Mr. Webster's argument. Mr. Webster had said that the Proviso incorporated in a territorial bill for New Mexico would be a taupt to the South-and that. New Mexico needed no Proviso to keep her free Mr. Fowler does not appear to be in the least convinced by such authority. He says:

"The complaint, that, by applying it to New Mexico, we taunt the South, comes with no good grace from the counsellors of a free Republic. I am resolved to apply the Proviso to that terunless important modifications of its powers and ritory—not to injure any one's feelings, nor to pure be made. What these are he does not wound any one's pride—but because it is constitutional and right, and, as I judge, eminently a and Austria have taken the lion's share, in divid- prudent and practical measure. The application of this principle to the Northwest Territory was a prudent and practical measure. I believe its application to California and New Mexico will be no less so. Without the application, Illinois—noble Illinois—would have been a slave State. She did but just escape being so, with the Proviso upon her. If it be not applied to California and New Mexico, in my opinion, they, in no long time, will be slave States. I will, therefore, vote to apply it to both of them, and to all other free territory, whenever, and as often, as the occasion

> The syren song of no Wilmot Proviso for New Mexico, is calculated to bring in that Territory as a slave State. The only hope of freedom there, is in the application of the Provisc limited by mountains or plains, by soil or climate, by occupation or by latitude, is an absurdity. Were slavery allowed in California or New the last sixty years will see that those countries her fixed rule is to regard and treat all human would be overrun with slavery in a twelvemonth. beings within her jurisdiction, no matter how in-The honorable member from Virginia, [Mr. Meade,] frankly declares, in his speech:

" But for the fear of robbery under the forms of law, there would be at least fifty thousand ued in dollars and cents. Hence, our Governslaves in California by the first of December. is the best field for such labor now in America, and it would be invaluable to us as a means of thinning the black population. When people say that the climate and productions are unsuited to slave labor, they are either endeavoring to deceive, or are deceived themselves.'

use the first, the second, and every occasion, to apply the Proviso of '87 to every acre of free territory we now possess, or may possess. I ould apply it to territory, lie where it mayto Greenland, Nova Zembla, Cuba, Yucatan, the Arctic and the Antarctic regions, and to the Torrid Zone—to any and every part of the earth's surface, if it belong to the United States.

"If a bill for organizing any territory is re-ported to this House, without the Proviso, while have the honor of a seat in it, I will move and

vote for its insertion. Every member has a right to his own judgment. This right belongs to others—it belongs to me. I have formed my judgment of the value, and neces-'87, deliberately-I have avowed it frankly. And now, alone or not alone-sink or swim-live or let who will abandon it, I will adhere to it. I will adhere to it in all places-at all timesunder all circumstances. In no case will I participate in extending the slave power into free ter-No. never! In no case will I participate ritory. No, never! In no case will I participate in withholding the Ordinance of '87 from free

REACTION.-Mr. W. A. GORMAN, a Democratic | Members speak, not with any hope of convincing, member from Indiana, the next day in the House, but to satisfy their constituents. The debate or delivered a speech very different from that just the California question is evidently exhausted, noticed. His great theme was, Non-Intervention. and had the Northern members nerve and skill, nett is one of which our citizens have reason to. This was the doctrine on which the Democratic or were the Southern members actuated by right party had gone into the contest, the last Presi- feelings, the question would be brought to a close, dential election; and, he might have added, the by the admission of the new State. doctrine on which it had been defeated. There was some truth, however, in his remark that all | no ground of principle. The Richmond (Va.) Whig parties with but few exceptions were now giving | saysin their adhesion to this policy. Some truth, we

say-for certainly it is the policy now insisted upon by General Taylor, Henry Clay, and Dantions, and others who have for some years been in | iel Webster. On this fact Mr. Gorman made an appeal to the Democratic party to rally as one man in support of the Baltimore Platform. We doubt not the appeal will be responded to by too many. True, the Democracy in nearly all the free States stands committed by legislative re- their claims to admission; that they stand fully solves, and the declarations of State Conventions, to the Wilmot Proviso, but we observe in every direction signs of wavering. For a time, the though they can urge no valid reason against prospect was fair of a regeneration of the entire

> Party at the North, but Hunkerism is regaining its ascendency. The spirit of reaction is busily at work. have openly renounced, as we understand it, the thus maltreated, if they did not set up for thempolicy of Slavery Restriction. In the Michigan selves, would only regard with increased disgust Legislature they abstained from re-affirming a system which had been strong enough to re-

> their resolves. The Democratic State Convention of Connecticut not long since formally rejected the Wilmot Proviso, as did the Ohio State | sacrifice of Southern pride, but it would be in ac-Democratic Convention last January. These are | cordance with Southern principle. What do Southsigns of defection and apostacy not to be mista- ern men gain by delaying a decision? Increased ken. How far the political leaders who are devo- agitation. But should they succeed in coercing ted to this work of reaction, will be sustained by a settlement, as it is called; what would it amount the masses, remains yet to be seen. Meantime to? Pass the slave-catching bill of Mr. Butler, they find co-workers in Congress, among whom Mr. Gorman seems anxious to obtain some notori- thousands more freemen will be rendered dead-

> ety. His speech was a small specimen of stump by hostile to the claims of slavery. Establish oratory, characterized chiefly by devotion to the | Territorial Government for New Mexico without South, and hatred of Free Soil. The following the Proviso, and you simply enact that the slavery choice morsel was received with a smile, almost. from some of the few Southern men who listened to him: "I said to my constituents, and I say here to-

day that this Proviso 'was conceived in sin, and admitting California, no Southern man would brought forth in iniquity,' by Martin Van Buren, through a deep-seated desire to avenge his disap-pointed ambition. It was intended to defeat Democratic party had nursed, reared, and caressed, and into whose nostrils they had breathed "expediency" of removing the unfortunate cause

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"expediency" of removing the unfortunate cause
to be decided by the People of New Mexico, in
indispensable condition to continued union, he
political benefactors to death."

"expediency" of removing the unfortunate cause
to be decided by the People of New Mexico, in
indispensable condition. This might

from Connecticut, followed Mr. Gorman, in an involve no sacrifice of honor or principle on the they not charge it upon him? The protestations matters do not work smoothly. Loudoun county a grander idea of moral heroism, than that pafavor of the restriction of slavery, referring for reject it, and will be satisfied with nothing less regard as idle. his arguments, not to party expediency, but to than a formal renunciation by the North of the

ters from our Foreign correspondent. The one week on the Slavery Question were delivered by action in behalf of California. Mr. Disney of Ohio, Mr. Hebard of Vermont,

and Mr. Morse of Louisiana. Mr. Disney is a highly respectable gentleman, in concluding it, his intention to vote for the Wilmot Proviso. Whether in so doing he would misrepresent his own opinions, we know not, but troduced. he would certainly represent fairly the views and wishes of his constituency. There can be no mis- Democrat may move in Committee of the Whole | the effort with "admiration and delight." take as to the public opinions of the citizens of all parties of Hamilton county.

Mr. Morse, a Democratic member from Louisiana, is a native, if we mistake not, of New Engsome matters on the Speaker's table, resolved land. He is now one of the most ultra pro-slavery itself into Committee of the Whole on the state men. His speech was as sombre as that of Mr. sections of the Union, springing out of the aggres-

"When before," he asked, "did the people of the two sections look upon each other with dis-like? Formerly, the youth of the South were educated in the North. Now they do not go there, because of the dislike of the North to the South. I will not go over the array of melancholy facts showing that the sections are now essentially alienated in feeling." Insanity may reason logically, but it is sure to

make false assumptions. These Southern disunionists manifest this characteristic of mania. They are forever mistaking fancies for facts. Formerly the youth of the South, Mr. Morse says, were educated at the North: now they do not go there because of the dislike of the North to the South!

Just after we had read this remark, we picked up the Richmond (Va.) Whig, in which occurred the following paragraph: "The following young gentlemen from Virginia

hove been graduated at the Jefferson Medical Col-Henry O. Austin, Isaac T. Ballow, Nathanie Barksdale, James P. Bott," &c., &c. It goes on to enumerate sixty-three young

Virginia graduates this year of the Jefferson College-and it must be remembered that this is but one of the medical institutions of Philadelphia, and that the old Pennsylvania College has a far larger proportion of Virginia students. Mr. Morse was quite as accurate in this state-

ment as in the following, which he thinks furnishes another instance of the alien feeling of the "When wrong is done abroad to the rights of

any American citizen, the South were ready to boundaries. draw the sword for his defence. A few years ago, this feeling existed at the North with reference to the slave property of the South. Mr. Van Buren had once obtained indemnity (Mr. M. was understood to say) from England, on account of her violation of those rights. slaves have been liberated by the English Government; but no statesman will now venture to risk his popularity by preasing a claim for indemnity on their account.

The truth is, a series of claims was made by our Government, at successive periods, on England for indemnity for slaves wrecked or driven by stress of weather on the coasts of the West Indies, where they were liberated. The latest negotiations on the subject were conducted by Mr. Webster, under the administration of John Tyler; and for his state papers, arguing the right of property in slaves and the justice of indemnity, he received the high approbation of John C. Cal-Indemnity was conceded by Great Britain for

slaves liberated in British ports, before the abolition of slavery in her colonies, but denied once troduced there, as free persons, incapable of sus-It | ment has discontinued such claims as Mr. Morse pretence of truth could Mr. Morse blame the North, when from the time Mr. Webster wrote Davis of Mississippi grandiloquently styles him. his letters to Lord Ashburton, the Government "I am willing—yea more, I am resolved—to has been administered by slaveholders, and for most of that time by Democratic slaveholders?

> Mr. Morse contended, as nearly all the Southern politicians have contended, that on the acquisition of territory from Mexico, the Constitution of the United States became at once operative there, and as the Constitution guaranties the rights of the slaveholder, it effectually set aside whatever local laws of the territory might conflict with it.

This is the prevailing doctrine in one half of the States of this Union, and yet Northern politicians, anxious to please the South, and keep up their party arrangements, or afraid of the chiv-Northern constituents, declaim against the Proviso as unnecessary, a mere useless abstraction, because slavery is already excluded from the Territories by their local laws!

MOVEMENTS IN THE HOUSE.—The proceedings of the House are as yet without much interest.

The opposition against this measure rests upon

"On principle, then, we cannot see how the adission of California can be resisted. As to delaying its admission for the purpose of coercing the settle-ment of the whole subject of slavery, that is a different

That is the secret. Southern members, though convinced that there is nothing in the action of the Chief Executive, nothing in the proceedings of the People of California, that should prejudice justified in the position they have taken; that they have all the requisites of a State; and their recognition, still resist, that they may coerce a settlement, as it is called, of the whole slave question!

To remand California to a territoral con-The Democrats in the Pennsylvania Legislature dition would be no gain to them. The people plunge them into anarchy. To admit California as a State, would be no

and not one more fugitive will be caught, while

agitation shall go on. The Free Soil party would receive fresh accessions, and the places of the Doughfaces would be speedily supplied by men. What a demand to make on the North! By

sists, as a condition to his toleration of this tions of the country, was impracticable; that two shall be heard. organizing a State Constitution. This might must have been providing a reason for disunion. egates, and it is doubtful whether the People Petersburg, Richmond, Annapolis, and Norfolk. again for three months; have sanctioned the di-

It is thought that some Northern or Western justment of the existing controversy." It views

THE COUNTRY.

party, indulges in similar laudations.

sents, as does the Boston Journal; but the Cou-

the South, and the Daily Advertiser, fully sus-

Daniel Webster has spoken-he must be right!

two or three columns long, denounces him in un-

Seward should recognise the law of the Creator

of all things, as a higher law than the Constitu-

reciting the Lord's prayer to amend it with a

" Let thy will be done-PROVIDED it do not con-

Republic, and be a very pertinent rebuke to the

"It seems to me [Mr. Seward] slavery had laid

its paralyzing hand upon myself, and the blood were coursing less freely than its wont in my

The Republic is absolutely horror-stricken at

"When," says the Republic, "he grows chilly

in contemplating slavery in this country, he cer

of the world, whose steward the Senator is,

appeared to the inspired writers in their rhapso-

this paper will bear us witness; yet we must be permitted to say that a Senator whose blood

freezes in his veins in contemplating an institu-

tion which neither the Creator nor his only be-

gotten Son took exception against, should have

better vouchers for his authorized stewardship of

either than a speech in which he asserts that Cali-

fornia, with her gold and Caucasian races, would, under certain circumstances, set his blood in cir-

We doubt not that the Republic, as in duty

bound, in view of the peculiar relations of the

cult to propagate this pure faith among the nu-

culation with the certainty of a general thaw."

tainly displays a much greater degree of sensi-

veins, when I endeavor to suppose such a compro

It also objects to the following declaration:

dict with the Constitution of the United States."

proviso, as follows:

blasphemy of Mr. Seward.

measured terms. It objects particularly that Mr

Will orthern members sell their principles, and subject to this base humiliation, to purchase the admission of a State, whose recognition ought

The speech of Mr. Webste but as a politician, he may be said to be a perpet- never to have been contested? We shall see. It mous applause from the Southern press, but with will not be represented in the Nashville Convenual amen to General Cass. His speech was an is asserted by the Union, on the authority of a only partial approbation from the Northern. The tion. Meantime the National Intelligencer devotes, argument in favor of the doctrines of the Nichol- distinguished Senator, that there are 118 members | Charleston Mercury, the organ par eminence of the occasionally, some eight or ten columns to an esson Letter; but we are informed that he avowed, in the House in favor of a sort of compromise bill, Slave Power, compliments the speech as, "noble say on said Convention, and in its last effort it in which every claim made by slaveholders, and in language, generous and conciliatory in tone, and showed, pretty satisfactorily, that it was a little hitherto resisted by non-slaveholders, is to be in- in the matter having one, broad and powerful worse than the Hartford Convention of odorous tendency towards the peaceable and honorble ad- memory.

a substitute for the California bill, embracing in addition a Territorial Government for New there are not many points of disagreement-but Mexico without the Proviso, and a section provid- nowhere has he urged his opinions offensively ing for the more efficient reclamation of fugitives; that, as the yeas and nays cannot be called in Committee of the Whole, the substitute may be of the Union, and took up the Deficiency Appro- Calhoun. He spoke of the alienation of the two adopted; that the 'omnibus' bill may then be reported and adopted without amendment, under the operation of the previous question. The preslaveholding speaker would occupy the chair, he adjusted." would recognise the member who should demand it. In this way the friends of freedom would be entrapped, and reduced to the alternative of all or none-that is, of voting for the admission of Cali- pondent of the Philadelphia North American fornia, with all the miserable appendages to it, or voting against the whole.

Such is the game that may be played. We drama. Meantime, it may be well enough to say, that though in Committee of the Whole on the rier, which has always been lavish in its abuse of made, it is said, a very vigorous speech on the state of the Union, accommodating members may escape the responsibility of the yeas and nays, they can be compelled to walk through tellers, under eyes that will not wink at any movements show a disposition to approve. They seem to that look like treason to the people.

SENATE. But two formal speeches were delivered last

week in the Senate, on the great question. Mr. The religious press, which exerts powerful in-Turney we did not hear. He is not a man of fluence in New England, holds a different tone. mark, and his speech, delivered to a thin audience, Its voice is that of strong disapprobation. Not produced no impression.

Mr. Douglas occupied portions of two days, in a speech characterized by much ability, presenting many just views, and advocating with great Mr. Webster safe. That has no heart, no princiforce the admission of California. He admitted ple. It fears not God, it regards not man. It that he had at first been opposed to the present looks at Moral Questions, it tries Political Quesboundaries of California. He should have pre- | tions, in the light of pecuniary considerations. If, | ferred two States, both of which would have been free; but, after deliberating a long while on the should bear sway in Massachusetts, the political subject, he had come to the conclusion that it was fate of Mr. Webster is scaled. The problem has now too late to propose any alteration of the yet to be solved, though the Southern papers pre-

Mr. Douglas took occasion to insist upon the by no means ill-grounded. obligatory force of legislative instructions, in opposition to the views presented by Mr. Webster, and to this part of his speech we listened with Union, because we have always felt certain the unalloyed satisfaction. When a Senator finds Northern people would not stand the ground they ditional admission of California into the Union. himself instructed by the Legislature which have taken, and because we knew that the South elected him, in relation to his action on any would." question, and when he has reason to believe that such instruction is in accordance with the will of | South on Northern firmness. And does not the | jects are open or secret separation or dis the majority of the people of his State, he is conduct of Northern representatives amply jusbound on every principle of a Representative tify it? Government, to obey instructions; er, if his conscience forbid, promptly to resign. To do otherwise, is to usurp power, and to defeat the ington Republic, the Washington Union, the united end of a Democratic Representative Government. which is, to secure the execution of the will of press of his own State, the Washington Union and the People. How are the people to govern, if the Republic, (General Taylor's own organ,) are to whom such service or labor may be due. their agents assume the responsibility of disregarding their will?

Aside from these formal speeches, the proceedings of the Senate have been important. By reference to our Congressional record, it will be in the first organic law. The idea that slavery is | for all, in peremptory terms, for slaves liberated | seen that the unreasonable usage by which Antiin her ports after the act of emancipation. As her | Slavery petitions have hitherto been disposed of, laws now know no slavery or right of property in by laying the question of their reception on the judgment of General Taylor's organ, for an to engage in any plots or intrigues. There are many more fugitives harbored in France and Engthe prohibition of slavery in the Territories, against the admission of any more slave States, and for the establishment of jury trial in the case taining the relations of property, or of being val- of alleged fugitives from service or labor, have been received and referred, several members from slaveholding States voting for the reception, and but one Senator from the North against it. Daniel Great Britain as we have stated them, with what Dickinson of New York enjoys that unenviable distinction-"The Bayard of the North," as Mr

> Mr. Foote's motion for a select committee of thirteen to compromise all matters relating to slavery, is at last regularly before the Senate, but under such circumstances that it cannot be pushed to a speedy decision. The motion is to refer to mise has been effected," &c. such a committee the resolutions of Mr. Bell, and to this motion an amendment is pending, provid- this declaration, which it seems to regard as proing that said committee shall not be authorized | fane in view of the fact that the Saviour of man to take into consideration the subject of the ad- | kind manifested no delicate sensibilities of this mission of California. The only effect, then, of kind! the movement so far, is, the introduction of another series of general propositions, on which the whole question of slavery may be debated. The desire of Mr. Benton and some other leading kind did, who spent his days upon earth when Senators is, to keep the question of the admission | the world was full of slavery; than the Creator alry, and yet no less anxious to satisfy their of California distinct from all other subjects, so that it may stand upon its own merits. This is sensible, and were it the aim of Senators generally to expedite business, they would concur in this are not a sectional propagandist, as all who read policy, and pass a bill immediately for the admission of the new State.

It will be observed that Mr. Cass availed himself of the motion of Mr. Foote, to make a speech somewhat discursive in its character, upon the general question of slavery. He attacked some of the positions of Mr. Calhoun, but it will not be overlooked that he repeatedly made admissions which afford ground for the inference that there is no demand of the South Carolina Senator, even an amendment of the Constitution so as to secure equality of political power between the two sections, which he might not be induced to vote for. in certain contingencies. The truth is, the venerable gentleman is frightened. He believes all he hears about a dissolution of the Union. He seems to be in a state of perpetual trepidation, lest

North, on the strength of its being a central organ of the Whig party, and not a sectional advothe stars in our political system should suddenly cate. In its unqualified praise of Mr. Webster, start from their orbits, rush madly against each in its unqualified condemnation of Mr. Seward, other, and chaos and old night should come again. we are to find the position of the Administra-The speech of Mr. Calhoun clearly took ground | tion. Mr. Webster represents the conservative attached to their business." beyond the wishes of the Southern Senators gen- portion of the Whig party—that which rejects erally. It left no room for compromise. It made all ideas of progress and reform, if they affect charges which, if true, justified disunion, and it the price of stocks. Mr. Seward is of the from polite circles. laid down conditions to continued union, impossi- liberal section of the party-that which allies ble to be complied with. Mr. Foote of Mississippi itself with progress, and regards Questions of was the only Southern Senator who had the courage | Personal Rights above Questions of Expediency to put the true construction on the speech, and then or Property. The Administration, in casting true republicans-not because it mocks at and deto protest against it; and in so doing, he disclosed | itself into the arms of the former, follows its in- | fies the God of Freedom and the Father of all the fact that he spoke for the great majority of stincts, and carries the South with it; but is it the Senators from the South. Why should they strong enough to dispense with the aid of the men are too often shocked by seeing slaves in put Mr. Foote forward to bear the brunt of a con- liberal section—of the Progressive Whigs? The flict with the formidable South Carolinian? Why | Republic seems to think so ;-perhaps they may | nue, from the Capitol to that house where resides did they not openly declare their dissent? Mr. | conclude that they can dispense with the Republic. | the President of a free Republic. Calhoun is feared more than any other member of The two old parties now are in the same predicathe Senate. He seems to be considered as the ment. They are represented at the seat of Gov- not have meant Southerners, who, to the manner embodiment of the Slave Power. The Southern | ernment by organs claiming to be National, which men have put themselves into his hands, and now, sympathize exclusively with the conservative por- lanthropy, or a morbid moral sensibility, but when they find that he is conducting them rapidly tions of them, while they reject and revile the strangers, travellers—exiles and refugees from to revolution, they are anxious to extricate them- liberal sections. How do liberal Whigs and Old World tyrannies-whose eyes he has seen selves from his leadership, and yet shrink from the Democrats like it? attitude of opposition to him, lest they should be | The People throughout the country betray no | horror, whose lips curl with inexpressible scorn, suspected of disloyalty to the South. But they belligerent propensities. They are marrying and at such sights of barbarous oppression and must decide speedily whom they will serve-John giving in marriage, as if the end of the Union brutal cruelty in the capital of "the only free

were not at hand. Mississippi, we believe, wears | nation." Unionism and Calhounism have no more affini- the most martial aspect, though, as yet, she is not ty with each other than light and darkness. No bristling with bayonets. Her delegates have man, in the ripeness of his glory in the veneraman could concoct such a speech as Mr. Calhoun | been appointed to the Nashville Convention, and delivered, unless he aimed at disunion. He knew moneys have been voted them for their journey. breach, and did not tremble. He had done the that an amendment of the Constitution, so as The Legislature has further resolved to place state some service-might be be heard in the Nato secure an equality of political power between \$200,000 at the disposition of the Governor, to tional Councils once more? And he was heard, sacrifice his honor or his principles; but he in- the North and the South, or any other two sec- be used, we suppose, when the crack of doom with benign toleration, even as though he were Lewis Cass and the Democratic party. Yes, Mr. Chairman, this 'son of York,' that the great that the Northern members shall renonnce their recommend such a measure; that three-fourths of each branch of Congress would never the Ring; have abolished the national guard recommend such a measure; that three-fourths of entreaties of Messrs Cabell, Morton, and Yulee, boldly called upon the nation to put away her the King; have abolished the national guard the States would never countenance it; and, refuses to appoint delegates to the great Conven- shame and her crime, or rather suggested the and disarmed the citizens; have given the Govnon-action, which is virtually leaving the question | therefore, in stating such an amendment as an | tion, and thinks badly of it. The Legislature of | "expediency" of removing the unfortunate cause

Mr. Seward, we thought, went out of his way, Other districts will probably send. Louisiana, Wilmot Proviso, or the policy of slavery restric- and spoke without reason, when he assured the we believe, has not yet decided. Kentucky has The rest of the speeches in the House last tion, and it is to compel this that they resist all country that he had found no member of the decided to have nothing to do with the movement. Senate in favor of a dissolution of the Union- An immense Benton meeting in St. Louis accepts concessionary, compromising smile. Mr. Calhoun's speech as proof conclusive that | To speak seriously, Mr. Clay betrays, by his Mr. Benton was right in charging him with con-The speech of Mr. Webster meets with unani- spiring against the Union; and it is said Missouri

> ing, rashly enough, we opine, upon the fidelity of "Not that we wholly agree with him-not that its representatives in Washington. It may wake up, one of these days, to find itself betrayed. We fear it will. We do not like the tone of many of and when he reaches the true grounds of th its prominent party presses. It is tame and timepresent controversy, he marks his way so clearly, and treads so loyally on the plain track of the Constitution and pledges of the Government, that serving. We have alluded elsewhere to the reaction of Hunkerism in the Democratic party. the difficulty is not to agree, but to disagree with him. With such a spirit as Mr. Webster has shown, it It is not universal. In Rhode Island, we observe the Democrats and Free Soil men have united no longer seems impossible to bring this sectional contest to a close; and we feel now, for the first upon one candidate for the Governorship-the vious question cuts off all amendments; and, as a time since Congress met, a hope that it may be so Hon. B. B. Thurston, a worthy and faithful member of the last Congress. In Philadelphia, deter-The press of the South, without distinction of mined not to be misrepresented by Messrs. Buchanan, Brown, and Co., the Democrats held a At the North, opinion is divided. The corresnoble meeting in the Chinese Museum, a week ago, which, judging from the labored effort of the praises, while the editors faintly suggest dissent. Pennsylvanian, three columns long, to counteract The New York Tribune condemns the speech, in the effects of the meeting, we judge must have plain language. The Albany Evening Journal been a most imposing display. Judge Pettit preshall keep our readers advised of every act in the praises the orator, but cannot concur in his pecu- sided, and the assemblage was addressed by seveliar sentiments. The Boston Atlas strongly disral speakers, among them J. M. Read, and Mr.

The North is taking things quite coolly, rely-

occasion. The following resolutions were adopted tain him. Other Whig papers in Massachusetts unanimously: "Resolved, That Congress has the power to esbe under the impression that Webster is entitled to do their thinking for them. It is enough that of the United States.

conquest and by purchase, from Mexico, came to us free, are now free, and should forever remain free. Resolved, That Congress, possessing the power one of the religious papers, to our knowledge, over the Territories, and also the power to admit has commended his speech. If the Moneyed Innew States into the Union, it is their bounden duty, with the examples of Tennessee and Michigan before them, to admit California with her terest be all-powerful in Massachusetts, then is

federacy. "Resolved, That patriotism, sound policy, and a just economy of the public treasure, and the universal desire to bind our citizens on the Pacific to our glorious Union with bands of iron, de mand the immediate and unconditional admission of the Star in the West into the sisterhood of States; and that our Senators and Members of dict the result with great confidence—a confidence Congress from this State are earnestly requested to use every honorable means to effect this most desirable object We have never," says the Richmond (Va.)

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meet-Examiner, "entertained a serious fear for the ing, it is the duty of our State Legislature to pass resolutions in favor of the immediate and uncon-"Resolved, That Pennsylvania frowns indig

nantly upon all attempts to weaken or dissolv the Union, and that she regards all conventions This is the estimate generally placed by the whether in the North or in the South, whose obto be treasonable, and all the actors in them to be moral traitors. "Resolved, That we recognise, to the fullest ex-While Mr. Webster receives the high com-

tent, the binding obligation of that provision of the Constitution of the United States, that de mendation of the National Intelligencer, the Washclares 'that no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into Southern press, and a large portion of the city another,' shall be discharged from such service, 'but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party "Resolved, That our watchword and rallying cry is, 'The Union, it must and shall be prerivalling each other in their abuse of Mr. Sew-

ard and his speech. The Republic, in an editorial The New York Evening Post remarks

They are bold, certainly, and far more direct and unequivocal in their assertion of the right of ruin Congress to legislate for the Territories, and its duty so to legislate as to exclude from them the tion of the United States. It is impious, in the calamity of slavery, than we had expected at a meeting at which we knew that numbers of those the Divine law! The Senate ought to take the expected to take part. These men, although they subject into consideration. Perhaps it might re- gave their votes to the candidate whose nominabuke this profanity by requiring its chaplain, in | tion had, in their opinion, the usual regular forms, are vet determined to sav an honest word on the great controversy which now agitates the people of the United States."

Meantime we say to the friends of Freedom everywhere, stand to your arms. The moment We think this would embrace the idea of the for the final struggle approaches. You may be deceived-it may now be beyond your power to coffin. prevent the consummation of the Treason long meditated against the cause of Freedom-but, it is not beyond your power to punish the traitors. You shall hear of them, and then-the places that now know them will know them no more forever.

# LETTER FROM GRACE GREENWOOD.

NEW BRIGHTON, PA., Feb. 15, 1850. To the Editor of the National Era:

Clay's late speech in support of his conciliatory resolutions, and so, I trust, I shall not wholly compromise my womanly position by slightly reupon the subject than the Saviour of manmarking upon it. I would limit myself to that portion relating to the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. I rejoiced over this evinced, when he sent his angels to talk with men. with much of hope. The advocates and champions of "the peculiar institution" are becoming ashamed of its disgraceful contingencies and consequences, if not convinced of its inherent wrong and inhumanity. Mr. Clay would not have "the abominable traffic " broken up, by no means, though he quotes, and by quoting in some sort endorses, Mr. Randolph's somewhat severe expression. No, he would only have it banished the narrow limits of the District, but not afar off; for he kindly points out to his friends of the slave trading fraternity the neighboring cities of Alexandria, Petersburg, Richmond, Annapolis, and Norfolk, as suitable places wherein to "establish Grand Lama, whose high priest it is, believes their jails and their prisons." The cities menthat Slavery is an institution justified by the most tioned will no doubt feel due gratitude for this orthodox theology; but it will find it rather diffimark of the honorable Senator's distinguished consideration.

Speaking of "regular traders in slaves," Mr. Clay announces with much tenderness the melancholy fact that "they are not looked upon with particular favor at the South "-that they are, on the contrary, sometimes unjustly excluded from social intercourse, on account of the odium Alas for prejudices !- there is one equally un

just excluding convicts, headsmen, and hangmen, Mr. Clay would have the slave trade done

away with in the District, not because it insults the manhood and outrages the principles of all mankind-but because "the feelings of gentlechains, and in long trains driven down the Ave-By "gentlemen," the illustrious speaker could

flash with indignation, whose cheeks blanch with For this came forth the world-renowned states-

bleness of his age, and stood in the perilous making his last speech and dying confession, while

Brief Notices.—Mr. Butler, a Whig member | compromise the interests of Freedom—it could | There are Senators who believe this: why do | will supply its lack of patriotism. In Virginia, | Oh, where could genius find a nobler picture. earnest, a direct, and straight-forward speech, in part of the South. But the Southern members of such a man of attachment to the Union, we refuses to send delegates. General Beale's dis- triotic old statesman, as, bravely risking populartrict declines, and sustains its Representative. ity, power, all that render political life dear, he uttered those memorable words, and from his per ilous stand looked round, all undismayed, on friend and foe, and smiled his old, conciliatory

> anxiety to put the enormities of slavery out of sight, a consciousness that its "deeds are evil." and a dread of looking its horrors in the face Mr. Calhoun would have made no such conces sion to the fanaticism of the North. He accepts slavery, with all its consequences, its enormities and disgraces. It were still the beloved institu-tion with him, though all other champions for sook it, and the whole world cried shame upon it; and e would neither disguise one ugly feature, nor etray one smallest interest of the system for the nighest honors in the gift of the Republic. But he has at least audacity and consistency in wrong doing, a sort of unrighteous unrightness, and hor esty which "covers a multitude of sins."

I hope from my soul that whenever this or like resolutions may come before the House, that every Northern member will vote against themyes, oppose the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. If we are to support this institution, with all its aids and belongings, let e openly, before Heaven, and in the face of th whole world. Let national legislation on this subject have, at least, a defiant dignity in its in subject have, at least, a denant dighty in its injustice, and not be ever "pointing to the sneaking quarter of the moral compass." I would have Washington the most important slave market in this Republic; I would have the chained slaves and the representatives of a free people pass down the Avenue together; I would have the slave prisons and the slave auctions among the regular lions of the capital city; I would have the Hunrian exiles politely shown through them; the Austrian ambassador should be allowed to their rounds before receiving his unsolicited leave of absence from a Government too liberty-loving and magnanimous to have diplomatic relation with foreign despotisms. Carter, member of Congress from Ohio, who For many and obvious reasons, Washington seems the city of the whole Union best fitted for

an extensive slave market. Is it not conveniently central? Is it not here that large slave owners men in the cotton trade and tobacco line, "mos tablish Territorial Governments, and to prohibit do congregate?" Is it not the place that stran the extension of slavery into the free Territories gers first seek, to obtain a clear and comprehen sive idea of the spirit and action of our free in "Resolved, That the Territories acquired by stitutions? Then here should be the last haunt of the dealer in "the bodies and souls of men;" here should the last slave be knocked down to the last

bidder for that particular sort of flesh-and-blood But probably there will be little need of the North protesting against such measures. The South will doubtless be as much alarmed at the proposition to banish the slave trade from Washpresent Constitution and boundaries into the Conagton to Alexandria, Petersburg, Richmond Annapolis, and Norfolk, as was the worthy mother of Cuddie Heddrigge, at the threat of her son to "flee awa' into some far country, perhaps twal or fifteen miles off." She will see that it is kept safe and cosy enough under the protection of the na tional flag-under the wing of the national eagle She will see that its respectable traders are no too slightly esteemed; "sure it's no harm for

man to labor in his vocation."

it has juils and prisons sufficient for its need she will see that its chain-gangs have the right of way down Pennsylvania Avenue.
It seems that Mr. Clay's speech could hardly have been correctly reported, for in one place he admits that Northern opposition to slavery is "dictated by the purest philanthropy and human ity," yet in another speaks lightly of it, as "a mere sentiment" for a mere "abstraction."

Surely the great speaker would not so contra The percration of this speech is a little on the tragic order. The orator draws a terrific picture of the horrors of an insurrection-"dwelling houses in flames, rafters orackling, breaking, fall-ing-women and children rushing wildly through

the flames, shrieking for help from Heaven!" & Then he solemnly asks: "Is this in the North? No; but in the slave States, and produced not intentionally, but by the measures introduced by you, and carried further than you had any intention hey should pro-ceed. On the one side there was sentiment, and

sentiment alone. On the other, property, life, and the whole social fabric, likely to be involved in Let us see. How was it in West Indian insurrections? Were they brought about by Reform agitation, by Congressional discussion, by Anti-Slavery associations, by the fearless preaching of

who supported Mr. Cass at the last election were | the Gospel of Liberty, or the eloquent rebukes of a free literature? Or were they the legitimate results of long years of oppression, of contempt, and insult, and cruelty, rousing at last the just, though terrible vengeance of an outraged The piece of high tragedy referred to was evidently the peroration proper; but it was followed by something in the melo-dramatic line—the re-

ation of a "thrilling incident," the presentation to the speaker of a fragment of Washington's coffin. From this happy little incident the orator evolved a singular and startling meaning. "Was it portentous that it should be presented to him? Was it a sad presage of what might happen to that fabric which Washington's virtue, patriotism, and walor, established ?!" I own I cannot see peculiar beauty and fitness of this figure, which drew dears from "veteran politicians eyes. If the Union is the coffin, enclosing a dead patriotism, the ashes of true national virtue, and this is to be at last-though Heaven avert the day as long as may be—broken into fragments, still may there be enshrined in more safe and DEAR SIR: All the world is talking of Mr. sacred keeping, that ideal of patriotism, liberty

### and republicanism, which is the Washington of EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENCE.

BERLIN, February 5, 1850. To the Editor of the National Era:

Two weeks ago, Prussia was the object of attention to all Europe. The unexpected demands of the King were so hostile to all the interests of the richer bourgeoisie, the only class represented by the Chambers, that s stout resistance was anticipated. This proved to be true to a certain extent. Many of the members protested eloquently against the faithlessness of the King, and his duplicity in regard to the Chambers. He had dissolved the National Assembly of last year, annulled by ordinance the electoral law, granted another which placed the power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, ard professed his willingness to abide by the decision of the Chambers elected under it. Fourfifths of the people had refused to vote, but the richer bourgeoisie, trusting to the honor of the King, had accepted the law, and sent their representatives to Berlin. These the King had allowed to frame a Constitution, after working at it nearly six months. When all was finished, and he was required to take the oath, he orders the the political power to a nobility, which in great part must be created for the purpose. There are in fact only twenty-six nobles of the first class in all Prussia. Of these, ten are princes of the royal house, and sixteen are descendants of immedi ate feoffees of the Empire. The other lords of the projected House of Peers are to be created by

the King. As the absolute veto rests in the be agreeable to him and his creatures. But the Chambers, threatened with annihilation. and a return to absolutism without a Constitution, seeing nothing but revolution and viclence as the consequences of a refusal, and having long since lost, by constantly recurring compromises, in which the popular cause was always sacrificed, all reputation for independence. were obliged humbly to submit to the dictation of

They are already despised by the nobility party, and their friends represent them in a faint voice, as having sacrificed their personal honor and independence on the altar of the country This is the insanity of patriotism! What is s country worth, when her honor is betrayed by her own sons? The fair fame of Prussia has been soiled by the cowardice of the representatives of her higher classes. And yet this transaction is called a compromise,

name thrown as a cloak around every sacrifice of permanent national interests to an arrogant and ernment the right to dissolve or adjourn, at any moment, the Chambers, and not convene them

What has the King conceded to them? A compromise implies concessions on both sides.

He binds himself to take the oath to this Constitution. This is the first concession. One would think it a very trifling one, as the Constitution favors nobody but him and his friends, if we had not the royal word for it, that it is a great sacrifice of personal feeling for him to consent "to limit, by a scribbled piece of paper, his means to serve his country." He is to take the oath tomorrow at his palace, before the assembled Chambers, and at the same hour anthems of praise to God are to be sung in all the churches.

His second concession is, that the nobles shall no longer be exempt from taxes on their real estate, leaving the whole burden of the Government on the bourgeoisie. A bill for this purpose was the King expects, quite as a matter of course, a second bill to be voted with the one proposed. nobles at the rate of one hundred dollars in cash for every five dollars annual tax, to be hereafter paid by them. That is, the nobles consent to sell at par a stock which yields them five per cent. per concessions and none at all is a tweedledum and tweedledee affair, not worth the mentioning.

A third concession is, that the new House of Peers is not to be organized until 1852. This system would be of importance, if the King would, in the mean time, consent to the reforms proposed by the In short, the bourgeoisie has made a worse bar-

gain than the famous one of Esau's. It has not secured even a mess of pottage in return for its birthright.

I have spoken above of the refractory members The article on the peerage was carried by a vote of 161 to 149. Thirty-six members were either absent or refused to vote. Of these, fourteen were the Polish members, who would not vote for the King, but agreed to abstain for a certain con sideration. This is said to be a promise by the King, that the Polish Duchy of Posen shall not be divided into three parts, as heretofore threatened. During the discussion, the ministers made The Chambers were given to understand that if they did not vote according to the wish of his most gracious and most capricious Majesty, that the Chambers, Constitution, and Bourgeoisie, would be sacrificed to the royal rage.

This maimed and disfigured Constitution is to be changed once more. The King and his Cabinet are authorized to make it conform in all respects to the Federal State Constitution agreed on by the Parliament at Erfurt. This is to meet on the 20th of next month.

It ought to be mentioned, that the Chambers rejected entirely one of the articles proposed by the King, that provided for the continuance of on the peerage, and that he will reserve the right of providing for as many entailed estates as may essary to sustain the peerage. He will no doubt do what he says.

WAR SYMPTOMS.

The people of the United States must be now pretty well steeled against the alarms so often raised on the subject of a general European war. You well know that this correspondence has not sought to season itself with such highly flavored condiments. But why reject a spicy dish, when it is thrust into one's face? The war alarm is now higher than ever in Europe. War is to come this time, not from below, as in 1848, but from above, from the luxurious cabinets of diplomatists and the round council tables of Kings. In my capa city of faithful chronicler of the times. I will give you the views of the believers in the near approach of war, guarantying only the facts stated, and not the inferences from them. As yet, I incline to the opinion that the confligration will not be gen eral, but confined to Switzerland and Holstein These local difficulties, however, may be the sparks which will kindle all Europe into

The war party holds the following language "The French Republic cannot coexist with the absolute Powers of Europe, for it acts as a permanent instigator of disloyalty, rebellion, and social convulsions. Universal suffrage in France lays a powder magazine under every throne. The northern Powers know this, and have long been resolved to put it down. Heretofore they have not been able to act, being fully occupied with the German democracy, the Hungarians, and the Italians. Now, they have restored quiet at home and are ready for the struggle. Russia has bor rowed five million pounds sterling of the English bankers, and filled the Danubian principalities with troops, and stores of provisions, and arms. Austria has organized her provinces, recruited her army, and improved its discipline, and accumulated her best regiments on the Swiss frontier. Prussia has regulated her internal affairs, acquired the control of Baden, Dessau, the two Mecklenburgs, and Hamburgh, and stationed a force of thirty thousand in Baden, within a day's march

"All parties are thus ready to act. But the final object, to wit the attack on France, is not to avowed. The protection afforded by Switzerland to the proscribed republicans and socialists those enemies of family, property, and religion the plots of the refugees; the incendiary pamphlets published by them in Geneva and other Swiss towns, and sown broadcast over Europethese are to be the pretexts for the attack. Louis Napoleon is to avail himself of the same pretexts to permit it. How can he refuse, when the allies propose to do in Switzerland only what he has done in Italy? They fight for the sacred cause of law and order. Austria and Prussia have al ready made a formal demand on France to consent to the attack! Russia keeps carefully in the background. The French Cabinet met in coun cil, on the 31st January, to discuss this demand Some say Napoleon is in favor of it, having privately received the assurance that his ambitiou designs will be favored. The Legitimists and Orleansists are in favor of it, having also received | opposition flattering assurances. The people are to be kept quiet with the declaration that nothing is intend ed against the liberty or independence of Switz-But that mountainous Republic once conquered, the Sonderbund of 1815 will be revived. sia will seize on Neufchatel, to which she has old claims. Russia will wheel into line, and the leaders we have got. I do not knowthree allies, supported by Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony, will be ready to cooperate either with Bonaparte or the Bourbonists or Or- ter leanists, as circumstances may require, for the menacing position will probably be, that Louis Napoleon will receive more power for the purpose going to say that it seems there are some leaders of defending the country. This power he will that have not been consulted. Now, I want to one, I entirely agree with the honorable Senator from South Carolina, I will never henceforth oporganize so as to make permanent, and then the allies, having accomplished their object, will submit to treat on honorable terms.'

statement of the case. Louis Bonaparte has certainly ambitious views which it is impossible to realize unless some great public danger menace nitude of the danger demanded his temporary dictatorship. This would afford him the pretext for seizing on the Imperial title, or if not, on the dignity of President for life with very extensive | hand a little paragraph, taken from the Washing

If this be really the game to be played, the cards must be managed skilfully. If the French people suspect it for an instant, Louis Napoleon will change places with Ledru Rollin, and General Changarnier with General Cavaignac. The next steamer will probably take you the answer

vision of the State into such electoral districts as to favor particular monopolists and interests favorable to the Government; have freed the civil the Rhine provinces. Those on the frontier toand police officers from the jurisdiction and conlast two years in improving the fortifications in trol of the courts, except where the Government | The amount expended on the former, in 1848, was \$1,237,200, while that on the latter was only Besides this, the Prussian Govern ment has demanded and obtained permission from the Chambers to borrow \$21,000,000 for the eastern railroad. This sum is at its disposal, how-

ever, for any purpose.

The financial condition of Austrie Prussia. and Russia, is bad enough; but in war they would quarter their troops on the people, or endeavor subsist on the enemy's territory

You need not be surprised, then, if the next winds that blow from Europe should waft you the news of an attack on Switzerland, and of a war in

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

A rupture in those duchies may happen at any moment. Mr. Von Bulow, the Secretary of the Danish Legation, remarked, three days since, to a gentleman who gave me the information, that ne expected by every mail the news of the re-newal of hostilities. The King of Denmark, in condition of Prussia, and will act always with the his speech on the 30th of January, at the opening of the Chambers, expressed the hope that the affair might be brought to a peaceful termina-tion, but hinted very broadly that it could not. This seems to be the tenor of all news from that quarter. The duchies, in the event of the war, will not be aided by Prussia, as before, and will almost certainly be forced to yield in a short camaign. Their situation is a most melancholy one. They are oppressed by the umpires, their currency is destroyed, their civil administration disorganized, their troops half disbanded, they are bandoned by Prussia, told by the Frankfort Commission to submit with a good grace, and know that submission will not save them from decimation, by the prison, by banishment, and by the cord, or by powder and lead, or their country from the position of a conquered province. This controversy must soon be settled in some way, and probably by arms.

PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA.

While Prussia is apparently bent on the formation of a Northern Confederation, and really extending her power, by concluding military treapresented, by the ministry, before the vote, to the ties with the small States in her neighborhood, Chambers. Since the vote, it has leaked out that | Austria is none the less busy in organizing her own provinces, and in profiting by every mistake of her rival The late message of the Prussian King has been adroitly used by Austria to detach This second provides for the compensation of the the Constitutionalists from his party. One Government is now as absolute as the other; but Austria has the advantage of not having lately taken openly any aggressive step against the cause of unity. Although at heart she is hostile to any unity in which she has not the control, annum. A small portion is to be redeemed for and knows that Prussia would never consent to less. The difference, then, between the King's that, she is clamorous for the union of all the German people. She seeks popularity, too, by her project of calling a Convention of merchants and business men, to consult on the best means of uniting all the German States in one commercial This project she has laid before the Frankfort Commission, with a great show of earnestness. She is, besides, showing her zeal for try is answered. The honorable Senator says the German element, by her energetic attempts there has been no regular formal meeting. Chambers as at present constituted. But of this to colonize Hungary and Transylvania with Germans. She has never put forth such exertions in this way. The Minister of the Interior has caused a work to be published on the "History of the Attempts at German Colonization in Hungary and Transylvania in the 18th and 19th cenies." This work explains away all the failures, and attempts to prove that the present effort is ed enough in money, utensils, and land, are offered to actual

Another instrument used by Austria in her rivality with Prussia, is the influence of the four Kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hanover, and These have more or less influence with

This last Power prosecutes unremittingly its efforts at aggrandizement. Its friends circulate the report among the people, that an alliance is now in progress of formation between the three liberal Powers of France, England, and Prussia, while they give solid securities to the princes, of the King's attachment to absolutism and the privileges of the monarchs and aristocracy.

RUSSIA'S POLICY.

The real designs of Russia are not on Germany, out are, as of old, steadily directed to the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, and gaining the mouths of the Danube.

the King, that provided for the continuance of trust and entailed estates and the creation of new ones. Without these, a nobility cannot long exist. But the King has, in a subsequent message, very coolly informed the Chambers, that their refusal can amount to nothing, for he will consider this article as a necessary corollary of the one of the Russian founting. The adjusted to the end of disarming Austria. The aid given to her against the Hungarians bound her to gratitude, while it prevented the building up a Hungarian bound. Parable is on the Russian founting Austria has ever been the last loe of these ambitious designs, and is the only Power in a position to interpose effectual difficulties. The Russian diplomacy seems to have been of late directed to have a late of the lat Austria has ever been the fast foe of these am-Republic on the Russian frontier. At present, Russia seems to be favoring the views of Prussia. with the design of keeping alive the jealousy between the houses of Hapsbourg and Hohenzollern, so as to fully occupy the former in Germany. She the affirmative-Bradbury of Maine, Cass, Dicks certainly fomenting the difficulty with Switzerland. If this should come to blows, Russian troops will be necessary in Hungary, and the Czar can seize at once on Moldavia and Wallachia. He has ler, Calhoun, Underwood, and Yulee.] already, actual possession with forty thousand men.

UNITED STATES AND AUSTRIA.

Mr. Cass's resolution and speech have occasion ed a great sensation throughout Europe. Diplomatists are aghast at its boldness, and look on the Senator as a little touched by his failure in the last Presidential campaign. Some of the papers ask, What is the American Government, that she can give herself such airs of moral superiority? Has she not three million slaves in her midst, suffering more daily than the Hungarians have

Indeed, it is a naivé impudence without parallel. Mr. Cass, the apologist of slavery, the palliator of its horrors, the unwearied foe of liberty in his own land, would rebuke tyranny in another! The Columbia. The question of reception being man who never found a word of reproof for the raised by Mr. Yulee, Mr. Seward, at the request men who hung, without judge or jury, or shot down like dogs all the insurgents in the Virginia insurrection of 1831, not to mention others before and since, and will not dare now to disapprove these massacres—this man is full of horrors at the against the admission of more slave States, excesses of the Austrians. Come, Mr. Cass, be honest for once. Have the courage of your opin- of Mississippi, and on the motion to lay the ques-You are in heart a majority man. Degrees of longitude cannot charge morality. A fast ally of folgitude cannot charge morarty. A last all, of slavery in your own country, you would, if Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dickin-your lot had been east in Austria, have had your son, Foote, Hunter, King, Mason, Pratt, Rusk, eyes open to the necessity of crushing the noble These heroes may well quote to you, Non tali auxilio, etc., and decline your theatrical sympathy.

LOCAL ITEM.

The trial of forty-two members of last year's russian Assembly, for high treason, commenced yesterday. The act charged against them is, exciting the people to refuse the taxes. They are ot to be punished for voting this refusal in the Assembly, but for sustaining the vote by words after they were out of the Hall. A subtle distinction, truly! The trial excites great interest.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION.

We alluded briefly, last week, to the motion of Mr. Foote, made on Tuesday, to take up his motion for a Select Committee of thirteen. A further notice of the proceeding may be satisfactory. Tuesday, March 12, 1850.

Mr. Foote moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Mr. Bell's resolutions, with a view of taking up his motion to refer them to a committee of thirteen. The motion met with

Mr. Hale said: The honorable Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. Foote,] the other day, when he introduced these resolutions, stated that it was done after consultation with, and with the concurrence of "nearly every leading member" of the Senate. Well, now, sir, I do not know how many

Mr Foote. I did not intend to include the honorable Senator from New Hampshire. [Laugh-

Mr. Hale. I know that. Perhaps the Senator overthrow of the French Republic and the reës-tablishment of absolutism. The result of their that, whilst I do not pretend to be a leader, I would not exactly be among the led. But I was

Mr. Foote, Who are they? Mr. Hale. I don't know who they are. You said Recent facts give a certain plausibility to this nearly all; evidently, therefore, implying that some of the leaders had not been consulted. [Laughter.] But what I rise for now is merely as to a the Senator from New Hampshire. If it pleases question of fact. I want to inquire if those leading members that have been consulted, and have this kind, no objection shall be made by me. I oncurred in this measure, have also been consulted and have concurred in the appointment of | tion upon subjects that no man, who is not a misthis committee; because a friend has put into my hand a little paragraph, taken from the Washing-ton correspondence of a distant newspaper, which do what the Constitution forbids us to do, and now to enter into any discussion or argument, reads as follows: It is headed "The Committee on Senator Foote's Compromise," in large capitals-no; I should say in small capitals. [Laugh-

The following are the names of the committee of thirteen on Mr. Foote's proposition: Mr. Clay, chairman; Messrs. Webster, Phelps, Cooper, It is certain that the Prussian and Austrian | Cass, Dickinson, Dodge, jun, Mason, Soule, But-Governments have employed the last few months | ler, Mangum, Bell, and Berrien."

Mr. Foote. I will answer the question, and save

Mr. Hale. The question cannot be answered till it is all put; when I get through the question, I will give way. I was going to suggest that those leaders who had been consulted, had resolved themselves into a committee of the whole; for, with the exception of the honorable Senator from Mississippi, whom we have always looked to as a leader, and whom the country has always looked to as a leader, with this exception, almost everybody here that would be called a leading Senator, leading Whig or leading Democrat-

Mr. Foote. My name is not there. Mr. Hale. No; I know it. I say that, with the exception of the Senator from Mississippi, nearly all the leading Senators are on this con And now, sir, my question is, whether "the leading Senators" have resolved themselves into a nittee of the whole? Because, if they have, there is no necessity for the rest of us doing anyhing. Let them sit-

Mr. Foote. Will the honorable Senator allow me to say a word, to save debate? Mr. Hale. Yes, sir, certainly.

Mr. Foote. I stated to him distinctly that there had been no general consultation of the kind. The names of the gentlemen just read certainly have been suggested in various quar-ters. There has been no consultation; there has been no general agreement that these shall be the names. These names have been suggested certainly, and would be acceptable to me; are other names which may be suggested. There has been no such compact at all. The honorable gentleman knows himself that there has been no committee raised; they are to be voted upon yet by ballot. I ask him, then, if he deems it delicate, iberal, and courteous, to introduce a paragraph of this sort to embarrass and, harass his brother Senators with suggestions so unseemly?

Mr. Hale. I was not aware that I was harassing anybody, because I saw a smile on the countenances of all the leading gentlemen. I suppose they were gratified, rather than harassed. Certainly it was not my intention to harass them. Mr. Foote. It somewhat harassed myself. Mr. Hale. That must have been because the

the leading thirteen Mr. Foote, (in his seat.) I am weary of this

Mr. Hale. I was going on to say that the hon-Senate Chamber, in this room, but in some of the other rooms of the Senate, and they were simply announced here, and brought into this body these leading Senators, whose name is in this list mined upon at their little informal meeting. Sir, the honorable Senator from Mississippi cannot tell me that these little informal meetings do the business of the country, and that we only come Sir, I am answered; and, I think, the coun-

Mr. Foote. There has been no formal meeting, nothing like an extended conference, so far as I These names have been suggested, among know. others; but there is no agreement that these should be the names.

Mr. Hale. That is the fault I find with it, that

it has been limited to the leaders, and not extend-

Mr. Foote. The honorable Senator will bear certainly did consult with gentlemen of high standing as to the propriety of proposing such a committee; but as to the names, the honorable Senator must have surely seen that I did not inthe other Governments, and use it to detach them from the cause of Prussia.

Saxony, These have hote of test induced that leading gentlemen have been consulted at all. The honorable Senator is running away with an idea which is totally unfounded, and is attempting to amuse himself, the Senate, and the country, in a manner which is extremely unprofitable to us all.

Mr. Hale. I have got all the information I wanted, except that I should like to know who the

The Vice President. The question is on taking Mr. Hale and Mr. Chase called for the yeas and nays, and they were ordered, and being taken, resulted as follows: YEAS-Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Bell, Ber-

rien, Bradbury, Cass, Clay, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, Downs, Foote, Hunter, Jones, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, and Stur-NAVS-Messrs. Baldwin, Benton, Butler, Cal-

houn, Chase, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachu setts, Dayton, Dodge of Wisconsin, Felch, Greene Hale, Hamlin, Phelps, Seward, Shields, Smith, Underwood, Upham, Walker, and Yulee—22. Five Senators from the free States voted in

slave States voted in the negative-Benton, But-The resolutions of Mr. Bell were then take up, and Mr. Foote moved to refer them to a Seect Committee of thirteen, to be chosen by ballot Mr. Clay assented to the motion, because he was in favor of trying every means of settling

the dangerous question, but he was not sanguine as to the result. Mr. Butler of South Carolina was opposed to the motion at this time. He would not say that finally he might not vote for it. The subject was postponed, and the Senate adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1850. Mr. Seward presented numerous petitions for the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, for the establishment of jury trial, for the abolitio slavery and the slave trade in the District of of the Vice President, presented the petitions of Madison county, New York, praying for the protection of Freedom in the Territories, and

tion of reception on the table, the vote stood-YEAS - Messrs. Atchison, Benton, Butler, Sturgeon, and Yulee-15

NAYS-Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Chase, Clay, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dodge of Iowa, Dodge of Wisconsin, Douglas, Felch, Hale, Hamlin, Jones, Miller, Phelps, Seward, Smith, Underwood, Upham, Wales, and Web

So the motion was not agreed to, and the petition was then received and referred to the Com mitee on the Territories.

[People will be surprised to see Mr. Benton voting not to receive a peticion from American citizens, praying a certain course of action on questions then under consideration in the Senate. Dickinson and Sturgeon were the only Senators from free States voting in the affirmative, right to make up a new issue for the South. Badger, Clay, and Underwood, from slave States, voted for the reception.]

Three other petitions of a similar kind were then received by a vote of 18 to 13, and referred. Mr. Seward next presented a petition praying the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the Mr. Butler of South Carolina, somewhat ex-

cited, said—
I take occasion to say that I have always voted cause this putting several subjects together into one petition, with a view to introduce one be- and every one of them has condemned it. ause the others might be introduced, is, in my opinion, a mere evasion of the rule of the Sente; but I give notice now, that, as the rule has been broken down by which we have endeavored to prevent the unnecessary agitation of these subthey please upon all subjects, and I will never again raise my voice against it.

Mr. King of Alabama spoke in a similar strain After referring to the rule of the Senate on the subject, he continued-

pose any petition, let it come from what party it may, or be of what character it may, even if it | course with him.should be a petition for the dissolution of the Union, like the one presented the other day by now despair of ever getting clear of this agita erable fanatic, will undertake to say that they what the organic laws do not allow. For myself, I have done. After some further conversation, on motion of

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the special order, the motion of Mr. Foote.

red to the Committee on Territories, with instructions to report a bill in conformity with said

The sixth resolution is in these words: Resolved. That the Constitution recently formed by the people of the western portion of California, and presented to Congress by the President on the 13th day of February, 1850, be epted, and that they be admitted into the Union as a State, upon an equal forting in all respects with the original States." Mr. Benton. Will the Senator from Connecti-

cut yield the floor for one moment? Mr. Baldwin. I will.

Mr. Benton. My mind has been directed to the same point as that referred to by the Senator from Connecticut. I was for proposing an amendment in the same terms, but I afterwards thought, for the purpose of making all sure, and of keeping the question of the admission of California wholly unmixed with everything that is going on here in connection with the subject of slavery, it would be preferable to offer the amendment in this

"But nothing in this resolution shall be construed to authorize the said committee to take into consideration anything which relates to the admission of the State of California into the The Vice President, Will the Senator from

Connecticut accept that amendment? Mr. Baldwin. I accept it, sir. Mr. Cass obtained the floor, but yielded it for

few moments to Mr. Webster, who made the ollowing explanation:

Mr. Webster. I have no desire to oppose this lution of the honorable member from Mississippi, if anybody thinks it necessary, or would be useful. But, from what I have seen, sir, and from what we have all seen and heard, within the last month, my own persuasion is that no benefit is likely to arise from any attempt to draw up a series resolutions for the settlement of all the questions now in agitation. I see no hope that such a series of resolutions would pass the two Houses of Congress. At the close of my remarks, on on Thursday, I signified that I should take an ophonorable Senator from Mississippi was not among portunity, as early as might be convenient, con-the leading thirteen. had to say on the subject immediately embraced by the resolution of the Chairman of the Committee on the Territories, [Mr. Douglas,] and the orable Senator from Mississippi tells me that this committee has not been regularly acted upon by the Senate. I know something else, too; I know reet subject of the admission of California, under how all the committees were fixed; not in this the circumstances, I have not a particle of doubt. I am clear in the opinion, that the true course, and the only course of proceeding efficiently, is to keep that measure separate; and I am prepared I suppose, by some of the leading Senators to vote for the admission of California exactly as There can be no doubt as to this; and one of she presents herself, with her boundaries precisely as they are; and I hope, in a very short course of thirteen, stood up as drill sergeant, and announced to this body what the leaders had deter-California, we could not make any boundaries for that State better than are provided for by her own Constitution. In order to make out this, in here to put it in form, and place it on the jour- propose to say something upon the nature of the untry, the extent of the territory, and whatsoever else may appropriately belong to the ques-tion of the boundaries of States in that quarter of the world. In short, I incline to think it ex pedient, quite expedient, to proceed in that course of legislation which the President has suggested in his message transmitting the Constitution o

[This supplement to Mr. Webster's speech eems an afterthought. Certainly, everybody was surprised at the silence of the Senator on the with me while I state that there were no leaders consulted about the names of the committee. I nearly a week before this l nearly a week before this.]

Mr. Cass then commenced the discussion of the general question, and in the course of his speech, which occupied portions of two days, he was fre quently interrupted.

He complimented Mr. Foote for his untiring efforts to bring about a compromise. He should support his motion for a committee, but could not expect much from it. As to his own course, he did not know what it would be. He deplored many things in the speech of Mr. Calhoun. It was sombre and hopeless. The Missouri compro-mise would be no fit settlement of this question. He contended for the doctrine of Non-Interven tion. His own opinion was, that they should first take up the bill for the reclamation of slaves, and pass that. The Senator from New York had termed the provision of the Constitution on this subject immoral. No honorable man, believing this, ought to be in the Senate. The same Senator had styled the Northern Democracy the natural ally of slavery.

Mr. Seward explained, that he merely intended

to state a fact, not to cast reproach upon any body of his fellow-citizens.

the political organization of the two parties of this country, and that it is the support, the toleration, honestly given—given with patriotic motives, no doubt-by the party to which I referred in my remarks, to the institution of slavery in the South, that constitutes its tower of strength; and that, inson, and Dodge and Jones of Iowa. Five from on the other hond; the party to which I belong is a party more identified with the progress of the sen timent of freedom or emancipation in the North, and therefore it is weaker in its alliances in the

> Mr. Dawson. I understood the Senator from New York that these were the sentiments that are held by the party to which he belongs. I want to know, now, if he claims to belong to the Whig party? If he does, it will be known to every true and proper Whig that I do not belong to his party; and I hope that when he speaks for the party to which he belongs, he will not put under his banner the Whig party of the United States—the cons wative party of this country together with the Democratic party, whom I ad-

mit to be conservative also Mr. Calhoun had heard with regret some of the declarations of the Senator from Michigan. That Senator and himself had two distinct and differ-The question of reception being ent conceptions of the Constitution of the United

His whole course has been a course of palliatives. And, sir, of all courses, that is far the worst. Why, sir, you might as well treat a can-eer that is about striking into a vital part with palliatives, as to treat this question with palliaas read—its reception objected to by Mr. Davis tives. No, sir; my idea has been from the first 'Mississippi, and on the motion to lay the question that it was a disease that would be fatal, if not finally arrested; and I have acted upon that im pression. If I am wrong, it is because the impression is wrong—and, in order to arrest it, it is cessary at every stage of it to understand the real causes and progress of the disease, and the

causes by which it endangers the Union. I intended to branch off here, and to show that the distinguished Senator, if this Union is ever to be dissolved, will have contributed his full share to its dissolution; that the very entanglement we are now in originated in the last Presi dential election; and, as I think I have demon strated, originated in a violation of the Constitu tion and in a violation and disregard of the sovereignty of the States. Whenever the Senator chooses to go into a discussion upon this point, I am ready to meet him.

Mr. Foote obtained the floor, and reiterated what he had said on a former day in objection to the views of Mr. Calhoun. That Senator had no While up I will state one effect of the honora-

ble Senator's speech, as already developed. Upon its being received at St. Louis, a large public eeting was held, at which resolutions were adopted, declaring that the charges of the Sen ator from Missouri against the Senator from South Carolina, in regard to disunion, were made District of Columbia, or the removal of the sent good. Is not that weakening our cause?

A conversation followed, in which the Com

mittee proposed by Mr. Foote was referred to. Mr. Calhoun remarked-Now, sir, he says that he knows the opinion of in conformity with what I thought heretofore to all the Senators on this floor, except two or three, be the usage of the Senate on this subject, be- in regard to this committee. Well, I may say that I have spoken to at least half a dozen Senators

> Mr. Foote. I know the opinion of a number of the Senators, but there are some gentlemen here whose opinions I care nothing about, and whose cooperation I do not want. Mr. Calhoun. The gentleman is far more fa-

miliar and much more intimate in social intercourse, and more in the habit of consulting with nators, than I am. Mr. Foote, (in his seat.) I am on good terms with everybody.

Mr. Calhoun. Well, I am not on good terms

A change, I repeat, has taken place. The Sen-ate of the United States will no longer endeavor the avowal that was made by the Senator from New York, that there is a power higher than the Constitution—a power which overrules the Constitution-and which would justify the North in crushing it, I am not the man to hold social inter-Mr. Foote, (in his seat.) I think I shall have to

give him up.

Mr. Calhoun. I will say good morning, or I will shake hands with him, if he thinks proper to offer his hand, but these are the only terms of opinions and doctrines such as he has avowed.

Mr. Davis of Mississippi. I do not intend to consume the time of the Senator from Illinois, or but merely to say that, when the Senator from South Carolina delivered his speech, I did not understand it as it has been construed in the de-Mr. Dickinson, the petition was laid on the table bate of this morning. The Senator said that, to by a vote of 24 against 7. things were necessary, which the North could easily provide. This I believed. These certain Mr. Baldwin. I desire to offer an amendment, things were, he said, to do justice, by conceding stood: to the South an equal right in the acquired terri-

"Except the sixth resolution, which is refer-tory—so I think; to do her duty by causing the to the Committee on Territories, with in-stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faith-Foote, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, fully fulfilled; to cease the agitation of the slave question; these I think necessary to insure tranquillity; to provide, by amendment of the Conquility; to provide by amendment of the Constitution, for a restoration to the South of the power she possessed of protecting herself before

Chase, Clarke, Cooper, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dodge of Iowa, Dodge of Wisconsin, Douglas, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin,

for the reclamation of fugitive slaves. It was laid the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed. Events, however unwillingly, have forced upon me the conviction that such additional protection, if not now, will become necessary. The subject was postponed till to-morrow.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the California Question, on which Mr. Dougas addressed the Senate for two hours, when, without concluding, he gave way for a motion to adjourn THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1850.

A large portion of the morning hour was con-

sumed in a debate on the reception of a petition presented by Mr. Seward of New York, from pitizens of West Bloomfield, in that State, prayng that the right of trial by jury may be secured persons claimed as fugitives from service or Mr. Seward moved that they be referred to the

Committee for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Pratt of Maryland objected to the recep-tion. Of all the subjects producing excitement at the South, and working mischief, that of es caping slaves was the most prominent one. hoped therefore that the petition would not be reeived, and he demanded the yeas and nays. Mr. Hale had heard with astonishment the re-

narks of the Senator from Maryland. So far as ne knew, a person claimed as a slave in a slave State had the benefit of a legal frial—in most cases, trial by jury. Why should the freeman of the North be denied the same privilege? What was the bill before the Senate, referred to y the Senator. As he understood it, any man that wanted a victim, and could purchase affida-vits, "under this law, may go into one of the free States; he may go, Mr. President, into your house or into mine; he may seize your wife or your child, and upon an ex parte affidavit, taken behind our backs, hundreds and thousands of miles off. he wife of your bosom or the children of your love may be wrenched from your protection, and, upon the strength of this ex parte affidavit, huried off "-

Mr. Butler. Blacks. Mr. Hale. Sir, it does not say blacks, but anybody; and I have seen some that are holden as slaves that it would be difficult to tell by their mplexions what their parentage was. that anybody, black or white, upon the strength of an ex parte affidavit, taken behind their backs may be hurried off to a fate compared to which the refuge of the grave were a relief. And is it too much, sir, that we ask, and simply ask, that, when such a claim as this is made, trial by jury nabeas corpus, and every privilege dear to free men, may be exercised in our own States?

Mr. King of Alabama called the Senator to or-

der. There could be no discussion on the motion to receive. After it was determined that the peition should be received, it would be time enough for the gentleman to deliver his eulogy on "the blacks and the horrors of slavery. The Vice President was of opinion that the liscussion was in order.

Mr. King insisted that the Chair was wrong. The Vice President said he did not know by what rule the right to debate on the question of

Mr. King referred to a decision made by Mr. Clay, when Speaker of the House, that petitions must be sent to the Chair, and first received, before debate could take place. The Vice President remarked that when that

decision was made, there was no question pend-ing whether the petition should be received. In this case, there was such a question, so that de bate was proper. Mr. King urged another ground-that the

proposition before the Senate was to lay the question of reception upon the table.

The Vice President said that motion had been had given it.

made. The only motion before the Senate was, that the petition be received. Mr. Chase. I wish to make a single remark on the question of order, with the view of directing the Senate to a precedent in point. That precedure it to be done now, but that it was indispen-

dent is the debate in the British Parliament upon e subject of receiving a memorial from one of the American colonies at a very early period of the differences between this country and Great Britain. The question was, whether the right of petition should be so far observed as to receive hat memorial, which was presented to the House of Lords as this petition is presented to the American Senate. Upon the question whether the petition should be received or not, there was grave and full debate, which terminated at length n the defeat of the friends of freedom, and of ern Senator did. the right of petition in that body; and that petiplained, was refused reception by the House of Lords of Great Britain. But even that body did not go so far as it is proposed to go here. They did not refuse to permit debate upon the question of reception. The same rule prevailed there that prevails here; the member presenting the petition was required to state the substance of it, and the substance being stated, the question then arose upon the reception of the petition. Debate on this question of reception was, in the case | vor of the minority I have referred to, held to be in order, and was allowed, though reception was ultimately denied. The precedent, it seems to me, therefore, is in Michigan, and I believe that Southern Senators

Mr. Dickinson of New York. I cannot tell what is to be the result of all these abolition petitions. We are now in the middle of the fourth month of the session. Nothing else can come up but abolition, until the very air is as feetid as in an abolition meeting. I move to lay the question of reception and the question of order on the

Mr. Hale protested against the attempt of the Senator to deprive him of the floor.

After some conversation, the Vice President decided that, having the floor, he could not be deprived of it by the point of order

Mr. Hale resumed his remarks, and corrected the Senator from Alabama by observing that so far from having been discussing the horrors of jury trial. He continued:

even to his olfactories, are disturbed by the intro-duction of discussions of this sort. Who introduced the discussion this morning? Was it one of the "fanatical abolitionists," or was the indiof the "fanatical about the Senate the gentleman it in strong language.

Sam Marvland? Who raised this debate? If Mr. Foote caused to be read a long extract from anything offends the nostrils of the New York | the address of Judge Sharkey, President of the and Dixon's line, and not north, because we were not guilty of the agitation or discussion of this | Convention over which he presided contemplated matter. I wish to say here, now and forever, no action not strictly within the pale of the Conthat, for one, I can never consent, on any terms conditions, or considerations, to surrender that right for which the fathers of the Revolution asked no amendment thereof. right for which the fathers of the Revolution perilled everything they had on earth; that is, the right of trial by jury. It was one of the causes assigned in the Declaration of Independnce, that justified our fathers in going into the Revolutionary war, that they had been in many cases deprived of the right of trial by jury. And if the right of trial by jury was worth a seven years' bloody war in 1776, it is certainly worth subject of printing, and on the claim set up by the subject of printing, and on the claim set up by the dered by me at least, at any hazard, or for fear of any consequences.

Mr. Dickinson was impatient to get rid of the subject, and moved to lay the petition on the table, but withdrew the motion at the request of Mr. Satu Badger of North Carolina, who said

I am very sorry that the Senator from Mary land [Mr. Pratt] thought it necessary to raise this question on the introduction, as it appears to me, of a petition perfectly germane and proper, as the subject-matter to which it refers is now be fore the Senate. What is the petition? It is a petition praying Congress, in any bill that may pass for the recapture of fugitive slaves, to secure to them the right of trial by jury. Now, it is said, we have a bill before us on that subject. That is true. It is said, too, that we have an But does it furnish any reason why the people of the United States should not have a right to express their opinions to the Senate as to the form we shall give to the measure we are going to adopt? It seems to me gentlemen are running away with this subject, and for misled objects It is said that the object is to prevent the producing of excitement; but permit me to say, in the most kind and friendly manner, that whatever he may design, the course the Senator from Maryland is now taking, if persisted in, will but increase the excitement-Mr. Seward, (in his seat.) There is no doubt

Mr. Badger. And will but tend to produce the very results he desires to avoid. It is us in a false position on this subject; and as if we thought no man in the country, no body of men,

in whatever respectful terms they thought proper intercourse I will hold with those who entertain to use, had a right to indicate to us their views as to the adoption of a particular measure before this body. I hope to show, when I have an opporthat what is asked by the petitioners is absurd and preposterous, and that all the declamation we minate debate on the California Question in Comhave heard in regard to it has just as much to do mittee of the Whole, next Wednesday; and on

> Mr. Pratt reiterated his objections to the peti- the establishment of a custom-house at Cintion, and moved to lay the question of reception | cinnati. on the table. On this motion the year and nays The House resolved itself into Committee of tood:
> YEAS—Messrs. Borland, Butler, Clemens, Daup the Whole on the state of the Union, and took
> up the California Question.

Jones, Mangum, Miller, Seward, Smith, Spru- on the table. ance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Wales, and Walker-27

So the question of reception was not laid upon the table.

The petition was then received. The California Question was then taken up, and Mr. Douglas closed his speech upon the subject. In the course of his remarks he argued against the expediency of the Wilmot Proviso, but indicated his purpose to obey the instructions that nominated him, pledged itself to the support of his Legislature to vote for it.

The subject was postponed till Tuesday, and the resolutions of Mr. Bell were then taken up. Mr. Cass, having the floor, resumed his remarks. He advocated the admission of California, and astified her action in forming a State Government, on the ground that Congress had failed to ive her a Territorial Government.

Mr. Butler asked whether it had been the duty of Congress, in the opinion of the Senator, to provide a Territorial Government.

Mr. Cass. There are two positions I have alrays maintained with reference to this subject. First, that Congress under the Constitution has no right to establish Governments for the Territories; secondly, that under no circumstances have they the right to pass any law to regulate the internal affairs of the people inhabiting them. The first may be a matter of necessity; and when the necessity exists, if a Senator votes for it, he votes upon his own responsibility to his constitu-

Mr. Chase. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?
Mr. Cass. Certainly; I stand ready to be catechised all day on this subject, if Senators de-

sire it. Mr. Chase. Did I understand the Senator as saying that, in voting for a bill to establish a Government in the Territories, he would assume the exercise of any authority not given in the Constitution? Mr. Cass. The henorable Senator will unjourned.

doubtedly recollect that in a historical document called the Nicholson letter, I maintained that no power is given by the Constitution to establish Territorial Governments; but that where an imperious necessity exists for such a measure, the D. W. French, Rev. H. K. Lusk, of Cambridge, legislator who yields to it must look to his con-New York, to Miss MARGARET M., daughter of stituents for his justification. Mr. Chase. I understood the Senator to say

that there was no such authority given by the Constitution. Mr. Cass. I said that if we do an act not au thorized by the Constitution, under a pressure of necessity, that act must be done upon our own re-

sponsibility; and I refer the gentleman to the authority of Mr. Madison, who justified the action of the Congress of the Confederation on the subject of Territories upon this ground, and upon General Cass deprecated the language of Mr. Calhoun in relation to California.

I have already said that the speech of that honorable Senator inevitably leads us to the conclusion that upon the admission of California depends the dissolution of the Union. He likewise contended that an amendment to the Constitution was indispensable, and his remarks on yesterday seemed to connect the fate of the country with the accomplishment of this object. Mr. Downs. The Senator from Michigan tates that the Senator from South Carolina re-

arked in his speech that this amendment was indispensable. Now, I may have misunderstood his words, but certainly I think he only said it General Cass read an extract from the speech, to sustain the correctness of the construction he

Mr. Downs. Do I understand the Senator as saying that he understood the Senator from South Carolina as asserting that the amendment Mr. Cass. The Senator from South Carolina

quire it to be done now, but that it was indispensable that it should be done. Am I not right?

Mr. Foote. The Senator from South Carolina said. I believe, that it would be indispensable ul-That, I think, was the word he used. Mr. Butler made a few remarks, sustaining Mr. Mr. Downs. I believe he was not understood by Southern members of this body generally in the sense in which the honorable Senator from Mich-

igan understood him. I certainly did not so understand him, and I am not aware that any South Mr. Foote. I understand now, from the explation, the petition of an American colony setting forth the grievances of which America comhonorable Senator from South Carolina, that it the world:

THE following works are in the American Phonetic A phabet, the only perfect alphabet that has been given to the world: is the opinion of both these gentlemen that an mendment to the Constitution is indispensable

> Does the Senator from Louisiana doubt that such. is their opinion? Mr. Downs. I did not se understand the gentle-

Mr. Foote. The Senator from South Carolina said there should be such a provision in the Con stitution as would amount to a veto power in fa-

Mr. Downs. I did not put the construction upon

it which is put by the honorable Senator from generally did not. Mr. Borland. As one Southern Senator, I will

say that I did not. Mr. Downs. I know of none that did. Mr. Rusk. Will the honorable Senator from Michigan allow me simply to say that I hope the Senator from Louisiana will not make a construc-

tion or assume to speak for the entire South? We are all here. I do not choose that the Senator shall make a construction for me; that I can do for myself. Mr. Downs. I do not intend to speak for anybody but myself; but, so far as I know or have

ard, the view that I have stated is that taken by the whole South. Mr. Foote. I hope the Senator from Michigan will permit me to add a single word. I know that slavery, he was commending the humanity and justice of slave States in securing the right of ble Senator's remark is the construction that was given to it by nearly all the Southern members of this body. I could give their names, if necessary.

I want to say another word to the Senator from this body. I could give their names, if necessary. New York, [Mr. Dickinson.] whose sensibilities, I have said so before, and my word is not to be disputed by anybody. Mr. Cass proceeded to animadvert at some ength upon Mr. Calhoun's notion of an equilib-

nator this morning, it comes south of Mason Mississippi Convention that called the Nashville Convention, with a view to show that he and the stitution. The Constitution they regarded as

On motion of Mr. Dayton, the further consideration of the subject was postponed till Wednesday next, and the Senate adjourned. FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1850.

This was the day set apart for the considera-tion of the Census bill. The debate was protract-Select Committee to the paternity of the census

tables, which had been prepared substantially by the census board. The subject was at last post Saturday, the Senate did not sit.

Monday, March 18, 1850. Among the petitions presented to-day was one from Democratic citizens of Whitehead township, Chester county, Pennsylvania, against the Wilmot Proviso. It was received, and laid on the table. Mr. Atchison of Missouri moved that it be printed—an unusual courtesy—and the motion was referred to the Committee on Printing. Mr. Badger, having the floor on Mr. Clay's res-

lutions, spoke for two hours in defence of slaverv, and, without concluding, gave way for a motion to go into Executive session. Before this was done, some conversation took lace between Messrs. Hale, King, and Davis of Mississippi, concerning the statement of the first-

named Senator, that Mr. Buchanan had styled the Northern Democracy the natural ally of slavery. Messrs. King and Davis denied it. Mr. Hale said he would produce the proof of his assertion in a day or two. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1850. Mr. Boyd of Kentucky asked the unanimous sent of the House to present the Constitution of the State of California, and the memorial of the elegation from that State.

Mr. Robinson of Indiana reported a bill from the Committee on Roads and Canals, to set apart and sell to Asa Whitney a portion of the public lands, to enable him to construct a railroad to the Pacific. Read twice and committed to the Com mittee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

with deciding this question as it has an abstract motion it was laid upon the table.

Question in theology.

Mr. McLane of Maryland reported a bill for

Mr. Johnson offered a resolution, instructing the Committee on Territories to report bills for and Turney-14.

NAYS - Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Bradbury, of Territorial Governments over the Territories

the retrocession of the District of Columbia, and Mr. Disney of Ohio then addressed the Com-

mittee for an hour, in support of the doctrine and policy of Non-Intervention, and in opposition to

the Wilmot Proviso. [Mr. Disney represents a district in Ohio, in which both the old parties have always signalized themselves by their professed devotion to the Wilmot Proviso; and the Democratic Convention

of that measure.] The Committee rose, and the House adjourned THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1850.

The House was engaged in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, on the California Question. Mr. Hebard of Vermont and Mr. Morse of

Louisiana each occupied an hour in presenting his views on the subject. FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1850. The House to-day was entirely occupied in Committee of Whole, on private bills, in the consideration of which the public takes as little in-

terest, as many of the members themselves.

MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1850. The House resolved itself into Committee of

the Whole on the state of the Union, and took up the California Question. Mr. Williams of Tennessee spoke for an hour

against the Wilmot Proviso. Mr. Casey of Indiana argued in favor of the right of Congress over the question of slavery in the Territories, but insisted upon the policy recommended by General Taylor in his Colifornia message. Mr. Giddings delivered a speech on the general question of slavery, prefacing it with a brief reply to the speech of Mr. Winthrop, calling in question some of his statements. Mr. Thurston of Oregon then got the floor, the Committee rose, and the House ad

#### MARRIAGE. At Cambridge, on the 14th instant, by the Rev.

Rev. James Whyte, deceased, of Salem, New York AGE OF WONDERS. In this age of wonderful improvements and travelling facilities, merchants think nothing of travelling a thousand miles to make their purchases, when such a purchase is made

profitable to them. There are many Clothing Dealers throughout the Union who go to Boston for the sake of tra

ding at the famous OAK HALL. CALIFORNIA. California Passenger Ticket Agency, and Gold-Gathering Apparatus Store.

NO. 11 PARK ROW, NEW YORK.

THROUGH passage fickets for \$200. Thorp's combined trunk, rocker, pan, and quicksilver gold separator, all in one, only \$20. Quicksilver gold-catching ravines, \$3. Japanned do., \$1.50. Retorts, \$2.50. Quicksilver, \$1.25. California maps, 25 cents. California circulars sent to order. Tickets procured for persons at a distance, for the earliest possible conveyance. Information always free. Addison. essible conveyance. Information always free. Address March 21. ARNOLD RUFFUM. BRATTLEBOROUGH WATER CURE ESTAB-

THIS Establishment, having been put in complete order, is now commencing its sixth season. It has abundance of the purest water, and ample accommodations for 140 patients. It is accessible all the way by railroad from Albany. New York, and Boston. A detailed report of upwards of 300 cases treated there, during the year [48], will be sent by mail, on application to William Rodde, 322 Broadway, New York. For further information, apply to the subscriber.

R. WESSELHOEFT, M. D.

March 1881. LISHMENT.

Brattleborough, Vt., March, 1850.

TO REPORTERS.

THE undersigned, having been appointed Reporter, for the State, of the proceedings and debates of the Con-vention to form a new Constitution for the State of Ohio, wishes to engage the services of several experienced and competent Reporters during the session of said Convention, which is to assemble at Columbus on the first Monday of May now! ommunications from Reporters, stating the compensati

per week required, and accompanied by recommendatory etters from Mr. Sutton of Washington, or Mr. Parkharst of Boston, will be received up to the 15th of April. Address J. V. SMITH, Daily Enquirer Office, Cincinnati, Ohio. DEF New York Tribune and Boston Post copy three time in Daily, and send bill to this office. March 21—4;

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ing Post. 11. Seppi, the Goatherd.—Swiss Fairy Tale. With Poetry and eleven Short Arficles. WASHINGTON, December 27, 1845. Of all the Periodical Journals devoted to literature and science, which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me to be the most useful. It contains indeed the exposition only of the current literature of the English language; but this, by its immense extent and comprehension, includes a portraiture of the human mind in the utmost expansion of the presentage.

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ers must be postpaid. Confice on F street, opposite the Patent Office.
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MONEY! MONEY!! MONEY!!!

MONEY! MONEY!! MONEY!!

B. JARVIS, Attorney at Law, Columbus, Ohio, will give particular attention to the collection, in Ohio, dichigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Iowa, and Visconsin, of that class of claims long since marked as Loss," "Gone West," and "Not Collectable," by merhants, newspaper publishers, manufacturers, and others, rive years' experience has given him confidence; hence there will be no charge, but so tar as collections are made, except postage. Cards, giving references, terms, and intructions, will be sent in answer to post paid letters.

Dec. 20.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

Not content with this, the slave States induced legislation by Congress; and the Supreme Court of the United States have virtually decided that the whole subject is within the province of Congress; and exclusive of State authority. Nay, they have decided that slaves are to be regarded not merely as persons to be claimed, but as property and chattels, to be seized without any legal authority or claim whatever. The compact is thus subverted by the procurement of the slave States. With what reason, then, can they expect the States exegration to reassume the obligations from which they caused those States to be discharged? I say, then, to the slave States, you are entitled to no more stringent laws; and that such laws would be useless. The cause of the inefficiency of the present statute is not at all the FCONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE. states, you are entitled to no more stringent laws; and that such laws would be useless. The cause of the inefficiency of the present statute is not at all the leniency of its provisions. It is a law that deprives the alleged refuree from a legal obligation not assumed by him, but imposed upon him by laws enacted before he was born, of the writ of habeas corpus, and of any certain judicial process of examination of the claim set up by his pursuer, and finally degrades him into a chattel which may be seized and carried away peaceably wherever found, even although exercising the rights and responsibilities of a free citizen of the Commonwealth in which he resides, and of the United States—a law which denies to the citizen all the safeguards of personal liberty, to render less frequent the escape of the bondman. And since complaints are so freely made against the one side, I shall not be site to declare that there have been even greater faults on the other side. Relying on the perversion of the Constitution which makes slaves mere chattels, the slave States have applied to them the principles of the criminal law, and have held that the which decrease of his follows. slaves mere chartels, the slave States have applied to them the principles of the criminal law, and have held that he who aided the escape of his fellow-man from bondage was guilty of a larceny in stealing him. I speak of what I know. Two instances came within my own knowledge, in which Governors of slave States, under the provision of the Constitution relating to Institution relating to Institution relating to Institution states. stitution relating to jugitives from justice, demanded from the Governor of a free State the surrender of persons as thieves whose alleged offences consisted

in constructive larceny of the rags that covered the persons of female slaves, whose attempt at es-cape they permitted or assisted.

We deem the principle of the law for the recapture of fugitives, therefore, unjust, unconstitutional, and immoral; and thus while patriotism wi hholds its approbation, the consciences of our people con-

You will say that these convictions of ours are disloyal. Grant it for the sake of argument. They are, nevertheless, honest; and the law is to be exeare, nevertheless, honest; and the law is to be executed among us, not among you; not by us, but by the Federal authority. Has any Government ever succeeded in changing the moral convictions of its subjects by force? But these convictions imply no disloyalty. We reverence the Constitution, although we perceive this defect, just as we acknowledge the splendor and the power of the sun, although its surface is tarnished with here and there an openie spot opaque spot.
Your Constitution and laws convert hospitality to

the refugee from the most degrading oppression or earth into a crime, but all mankind except you es earth into a crime, but all mankind except you esteem that hospitality a virtue. The right of extradition of a fugitive from justice is not admitted by the law of nature and of nations, but rests in voluntary compacts. I know of only two compacts found in diplomatic history that admitted Extradition of Slaves. Here is one of them. It is found in a treaty of peace made between Alexander Commenus and Leontine, Greek Emperors at Constantinople, and Oleg, King of Russia, in the year 902, and is in these words: and is in these words :

This was in the year of Grace 902, in the period called the "Dark Ages," and the contracting Powers were despotisms. And here is the other:

No person held to service or labor in one State, unde

in 1787, and the parties were the republican States of this Union. The law of nations disavows such compacts; the law of nature, written on the hearts and consciences of freemen, repudiates them. Armed power could not enforce them, because there is no public conscience to sustain them. I know that there are laws of various sorts which regulate the conduct of men. There are constitutions and statutes codes mercanilla and codes given by the way. the standard of the laws of God, and must be tried by that standard, and must stand or fall by it. This principle was happily explained by one of the most distinguished political philosophers of England in these emphatic words.

There was deep pulses. When he had condemned a young woman to death, under the late sanguinary code of his country, for her first petty theft, she fell down dead at his feet: "I seem to myself, said he down dead at his feet: "I seem to myself, sa to have been pronouncing sentence, not against the prisoner, but against the law itself."

To conclude on this point. We are not slaveholders. We cannot, in our judgment, be either true Christians or real freemen, if we impose on another a Christians or real freemen, if we impose on another a chain that we defy all human power to fasten on ourselves. You believe and think otherwise, and doubtlessly with equal sincerity. We judge you not, and He alone who ordained the conscience of man and its laws of action can judge us. Do we, then, in this contict, demand of you an unreasonable thing in asking that, since you will have property that can and will exercise human powers to effect its escape, you shall be your own police, and in acting among us as such you shall conform to principles indispensable to the security of admitted rights of freemen? If you will have this law executed, you must alleviate, not increase, its rigors. late, not increase, its rigors.

Another feature in most of these plans of compro-

with which you would furnish us be of any avail. If I could understand so mysterious a paradox myself, I never should be able to explain to the apprehension the abolition of slavery in this District. any means necessary to carry it into execution. And, if I shall be asked what I did to embellish the capital of my country, I will point to her freedmen, and say, these are the monuments of my munifi-

and I was willing to advance a cause that I deem sacred by disingenuous means, I would advise you to adopt those means of compromise which I have thus examined. The echo is not quicker in its response than would be that loud and universal cry of repeal, that would not die away until the habeas corpus was secured to the alleged fugitive from bondage, and the symmetry of the free institutions of the capital was perfected.

I apply the same observations to the proposition

I apply the same observations to the proposition That spring, if pressed too hard, will give a recoil that will not leave here one servant who knew his master's will, and did it not.

master's will, and did it not.
You will say that this implies violence. Not at
all. It implies only peaceful, lawful, constitutional,
customary action. I cannot too strongly express my
surprise that those who insist that the people of the side of the Constitution, should so far misunderstand us of the free States as to suppose we would not exercise our constitutional rights to sustain the policy which we deem just and beneficent.

I come now to notice the suggested compromise of the boundary between Texas and New Mexico. This is judical superior in its nature or a least a page.

the boundary between Texas and New Mexico. This is a judicial question in its nature, or at least a question of legal right and title. If it is to be compromised at all, it is due to the two parties, and to national dignity as well as to justice, that it be kept separate from compromises proceeding on the ground of expediency, and be settled by itself alone.

I take this occasion to say, that while I do not intend to discuss the questions alluded to in this connection by the honorable and distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, I am not able to agree with him in regard to the alleged obligation of Congress to ad-

in regard to the alleged obligation of Congress to admit four new slave States, to be formed in the State of Texas. There are several questions arising out of that subject, upon which I am not prepared to decide now, and which I desire to reserve for future consideration. One of these is, whether the Article of Annexation does really deprive Congress of the right to exercise its choice in regard to the subdivision of Texas into Counciliance.

and apportionment of representatives, &c., the question is, whether, if new States are formed out of Texas, to come into this Union, there is not a solemn pledge by law that they have a right to come in as alays States? Mr. SEWARD. When the States are once form

tion of Congress, and no nower adequate to that pur-Texas herself shall be cleared up before I can agre admission of any new States to be formed Mr. FOOTE. Did not I hear the Senator observe

that he would admit California, whether slavery was or was not precluded from these Territories? Mr. SEWARD. I said I would have voted for the admission of California even as a slave State, under the extraordinary circumstances which I have before distinctly described. Isay that now; but I say also, that before I would agree to admit any more States from Texas, the circumstances which render such act necessary must be shown, and must be such as just be left for those to whom the responsibility will

Mr. President, I understand, and I am happy in understanding, that I agree with the honorable Senator from Massachusetts, that there is no obligation upon Congress to admit four new slave States out of Texas, but that Congress has reserved her right to say whether those States shall be formed and admit ted or not. I shall rely on that reservation. I shall vote to admit no more slave States, unless under cir-

imstances absolutely compulsory.

Mr. WEBSTER. What I said was, that if the States hereafter to be made out of Texas choose to come in as slave States, they have a right so to do. Mr. SEWARD. My position is, that they have not a right to come in at all, if Congress rejects their institutions. The subdivision of Texas is a matter optional with both parties, Texas and the United

Mr. WEBSTER. Does the honorable Senator mean to say that Congress can hereafter decide whether they shall be slave or free States?

Mr. SEWARD. I mean to say that Congress can

Mr. Shward. I mean to say that congress can hereafter decide whether any States, slave or free, can be framed out of Texas. If they should never be framed out of Texas, they never could be admitted.

Another objection arises out of the principle on which the demand for compromise rests. That principle assumes a classification of the States as Northern and Southern States, as it is expressed by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Caltern and Southern States, as it is expressed by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Caltern and Southern States and from States and States and States and States States and States and States and States honorable Senator from South Carolina, Mr. CAL-HOUN, but into slave States and free States, as more directly expressed by the honorable Senator from Georgia, [Mr. Berrien.] The argument is, that the States are severally equal, and that these two classes were equal at the first, and that the Constitution was founded on that equilibrium. That the States being equal, and the classes of the States being equal in classes of States, respectively, contribute in due proportions. That the new Territories are a common acquisition, and the people of these several States and classes of States have an equal right to partici-pate in them, respectively. That the right of the people of the slave States to emigrate to the Territories with their slaves as property is necessary to af-ford such a participation on their part, inasmuch as the people of the free States emigrate into the same Territories with their property. And the argument deduces from this right the principle that, if Congress exclude slavery from any part of this new domain, it would be only just to set off a portion of the domain—some say south of 36 deg. 30 min., others south of 34 deg.—which should be regarded at least as free to slavery, and to be organized into slave.

How is the original equality of the States proved? It rests on a syllogism of Vattel, as follows: All men are equal by the law of nature and of nations. But States are only lawful aggregations of individual men, who severally are equal. Therefore, States are equal in natural rights. All this is just and are equal in natural rights. All this is just and sound. But assuming the same premises, to wil, that all men are equal by the law of nature and of nations, the right of property in slaves falls to the ground; for one who is equal to another cannot be the owner or property of that other. But you answer, that the Constitution recognises property in slaves. It would be sufficient, then, to reply that this constitutional recognition must be void, because it is repugnant to the law of nature and of nations. But I deny that the Constitution recognises property in I deny that the Constitution recognises property in man. I submit, on the other hand, most respectfully, that the Constitution not merely does not affirm that principle, but, on the contrary, altogether

The Constitution does not expressly affirm anything on the subject; all that it contains is two incidental allusions to slaves. These are, first, in the provision establishing a ratio of representation and taxation; and, secondly, in the provision relating to fugitives from labor. In both cases the Constitution, designedly mentions slaves not as always are the fifty, three and a half millions of Russia in Europe, 1844, was - 1844, was stitution designedly mentions slaves, not as slaves, much less as chattels, but as persons. That this recognition of them as persons was designed is historically known, and I think was never denied. I give only two of the manifold proofs. First, John Jay, in the Federalist, says:

"Let the case of the slaves be considered, as it is in truth, a peculiar one. Let the compromising expedient of the Constitution be mutually adopted which regards them as inhabitants, which regards the slave as divested of two-fifths of the man."

It is brief, and I think instructive:

created the earth, with its wonderful adaptations, its gave dominion over it to man, absolute human dominion. The title of that dominion thus bestowed would have been incomplete, if the Lord of all terrestrial things could himself have been the property

one to make the slave; that right must be equal and mutual, and this would resolve society into a state of perpetual war. But if we grant the original equality of the States, and grant also the constitutional recognition of slaves as property, still the argument we are considering falls. Because the States are not parties to the Constitution as States; it is the Con-stitution of the People of the United States.

stitution of the People of the United States.

But even if the States continue as States, they surrendered their equality as States, and submitted themselves to the sway of the numerical majority, with qualifications or checks; first, of the representation of three-fiths of slaves in the ratio of representation and taxation; and, secondly, of the equal representation of States in the Senate.

The proposition of an established classification of States as slave States and free States as insisted on by some, and into Northern and Southern as mainfained by others, seems to me nursely imaginary and

toined by others, seems to me purely imaginary, and of course the supposed equilibrium of those classes a mere conceit. This must be so, because when the maintenance of slavery by law in a State, not parallels of latidude, that makes it a Southern State and the absence of this that makes it a Northern

Constitution was made not only for Southern and Northern States, but for States neither Northern nor Southern—the Western States, their coming in being foreseen and provided for.

It needs little argument to show that the idea of a joint stock association, or a copartnership, as applicable even by its analogies to the United States, is erroneous, with all the consequences fancifully deduced from it. The United States are a political state, or organized society, whose end is government, for the security, welfare, and happiness of all who live under its protection. The theory I am combating reduces the objects of government to the mereasserts the sovereignty to be, not in the States, but in the People, but also promulgates the objects of the

Objects sublime and benevolent! They exclude

Objects sublime and benevolent! They exclude the very idea of conquests, to be either divided among States or even enjoyed by them, for the purpose of securing, not the blessings of liberty, but the evils of slavery. There is a novelty in the principle of the compromise which condemns it. Simultaneously with the establishment of the Constitution, Virginia ceded to the United States her domain, which then extended to the Mississippi, and was even claimed to extend to the Pacific ocean. Congress accepted it, and unanimously devoted the domain to freedom, in the language from which the Ordinance now so severely condemned was borrowed. Five States have already been organized on this domain, from all of which, in pursuance of that Ordinance, slavery is excluded. How did it happen that this theory of the equality of States, of the classification of States, of the equilibrium of States, of the itile of the States to common enjoyment of the domain, or to an equitable and just partition between them, was never promulgated, nor even dreamed of by the slave States when

they unanimously consented to that Ordinance? There is another aspect of the principle of com-promise which deserves consideration. It assumes that slavery, if not the only institution in a slave that question for the present, and proceed to say that am not prepared to admit that the Article of the Annexation of Texas is itself constitutional. I find no authority in the Constitution of the United States for the annexation of foreign countries by a resolu-

to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous institution over its paramount antagonist. To reduce this claim for slavery to an absurdity, it is only necessary to add that there are only two States in which slaves are a majority, and not one in which

nority,

But there is yet another aspect in which this principle must be examined. It regards the domain only as a possession, to be enjoyed either in common or by partition by the citizens of the old States. It is of the whole nation. But we hold, nevertheless, no arbitrary power over it. We hold no arbitrary authority over anything, whether acquired lawfully or seized by usurpation. The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, and to

But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes. The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part, of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the Universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure in the highest attainable degree their happiness. How momentous that trust is, we may learn from the in-structions of the founder of modern philosophy:

"No man," says Bacon, "can by care-taking, as the Scripture saith, add a cubit to his stature in this little model of a man's body; but, in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms. For, by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as are wise, they may sow greatness to their posterity and successors. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance." ut lett to take their chance.'

This is a State, and we are deliberating for it, just as our fathers deliberated in establishing the institu-tions we enjoy. Whatever superiority there is in our condition and hopes over those of any other "kingdom" or "estate" is due to the fortunate ciramstance that our ancestors did not leave things of take their chance," but that they "added amlitude and greatness" to our commonwealth "by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as were wise." We in our turn have succeeded to the same responsibilities, and we cannot approach the duty before us wisely or justly, except we raise ourselves to the great consideration of how we can most certainly "sow greatness to our posterity and successors."

enty and successors."

And now the simple, bold, and even awful queston which presents itself to us is this: Shall we, who are founding institutions, social and political, for countless millions; shall we, who know by corience the wise and the just, and are free to choose them, and to reject the erroneous and unjust; shall we establish human bondage, or permit it by our sufferance to be established? Sir, our foreathers would not have hesitated an hour. They found slavery existing here, and they left it only because they could not remove it. There is not only no free State which would now establish it, but there is no slave State, which, if it had had the free alternative as we south of 34 deg.—which should be regarded at least as free to slavery, and to be organized into slave States.

Argument ingenious and subtle, declamation earnest and bold, and persuasion gentle and winning as the voice of the turtle dove when it is heard in the land, all alike and altogether have failed to convince me of the soundness of this principle of the proposed compromise, or of any one of the propositions on which it is attempted to be established.

How is the original equality of the States proved?

State, which, if it had had the free alternative as we now have, would have founded slavery. Indeed, our revolutionary predecessors had precisely the same question before them in establishing an organic law under which the States of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, have since come into the Union, and they solemnly repudiated and excluded slavery from those States forever. I confess that the most alarming evidence of our degeneracy which has yet been given is found in the fact that we even dealer and the same question.

weare, which would establish slavery. I speak on du consideration, because Britain, France, and Mexico have abolished slavery, and all other European States are preparing to abolish it as speedily as they can. We cannot establish slavery, because there are certain elements of the security, welfare, and greatness of nations, which we all admit or ought to admit, and recognise as essential, and these are the security of natural rights, the diffusion of knowledge, and of natural rights, the diffusion of knowledge, and the freedom of industry. Slavery is incompatible with all of these, and just in proportion to the extent that it prevails and controls in any republican State, just to that extent it subverts the principle of democracy, and converts the State into an aristocracy or a despotism. I will not offend sensibilities by drawing my proofs from the slave States exties by drawing my proofs from the slave States ex isting among ourselves. But I will draw them from the greatest of the Europeon slave States. The population of Russia in Europe, in 1844, was - 54,251,000

The residue nobles, clergy, and merchants, &c. 751,000

The Imperial Government abandons the control over the fifty-three and a half millions to their owners, and these owners, included in the 751,000, are thus a privileged class, or aristocracy. If ever the Government interferes at all with the serfs, who are the only laboring population, it is by edicts designed to abridge their opportunities of education, and thus continue their debasement. What was the origin of this system? Conquest, in which the cantivity of this system? Conquest, in which the captivity of the conquered was made perpetual and hereditary. This, it seems to me, is identical with American slavery, only at one and the same time exaggerate! This, it seems to me, is identical with American slavery, only at one and the same time exaggerated by the greater disproportion between the privileged classes and the slaves in their respective numbers.

This, it seems to me, is identical with American ration of this excitement. The Senators from some slavery, only at one and the same time exaggerated by the greater disproportion between the privileged classes and the slaves in their respective numbers.

The Senators from some states and opening a ration of slavery, as some suppose, but from the want of moral courage to meet this question of emancipation are classes and the slaves in their respective numbers. can slavery, the distinction of eastes. What but this renders Russia at once the most arbitrary despotism and the most barbarous State in Europe? And what is its effect, but industry comparatively profitless, and sedition, not occasional and partial, but chronic and pervading the Empire. I speak of slavery not in the language of fancy, but in the language of philosophy. Montesquieu remarked upon the proposition to introduce slavery into France, that the demand for slavery was the demand of luxury and corruption, and not the demand of patriotism. Of all slavery, African slavery is the worst, for it combines practically the features of what is distinguished as real slavery or serfdom with the personal slavery known in the Oriental world. Its domestic features lead to vice, while its political features render it inju-

I cannot stop to debate long with those who main-I cannot stop to debate long with those who maintain that slavery is itself practically economical and humane. I might be content with saying that there are some axioms in political science that a statesman or a founder of States may adopt, especially in the Congress of the United States, and that among those axioms are these: That all men are created equal, and have inalienable rights of life, liberty, and

erable to institutions exercising arotrary and irresponsible power.

It remains only to remark that our own experience has proved the dangerous influence and tendency of slavery. All our apprehensions of dangers, present and future, begin and end with slavery. It slavery, limited as it yet is, now threatens to subvert the Constitution, how can we, as wise and prudent statement, and increase its e of the future inhabitants of the new Territorie fare of the future inhabitants of the new Territories, or the security and welfare of the whole people of the United States, or the welfare of the whole family of mankind, I cannot consent to introduce slavery into any part of this continent which is now exempt from what seems to me so great an evil. These are my reasons for declining to compromise the question relating to slavery as a condition of the admission of California.

Sir, Congress may admit new States; and since Congress may admit, it follows that Congress may reject new States. The discretion of Congress in admitting is absolute, except that, when admitted, the State must be a republican State, and must be a STATE: that is, it shall have the constitutional form and powers of a State. But the greater includes the less, and therefore Congress may impose fundamental powers and forms. Boundaries are such. The reservation of the public domain is such. The right to divide is such. The Ordinance excluding slavery is such a condition. The organisuch. The right to divide is such. The Ordinance excluding slavery is such a condition. The organization of a Territory is ancillary or preliminary; it is the inchoate, the *initiative* act of admission, and is performed under the clause granting the powers necessary to execute the express powers of the Constitution.

also, and I think it will traced to the power to make needful rules and regulations concerning the public domain. But this question is not a material one now; the power is here to be exercised. The question now is, How is it to be exercised? not And the right to regulate property, to administer justice in regard to property, is assumed in every Territorial charter. If we have the power to legislate concerning property, we have the power to legislate concerning personal rights. Freedom is a personal right; and Congress, being the supreme legislature, has the same right in regard to property and person-

ganized. The next of this class of arguments is, that the inhibition of slavery in the new Territories is unnecessary; and when I come to this question, I encounter the loss of many who lead in favor of admitting California. I had hoped, some time ago, that upon the vastly important question of inhibiting slavery in the new Territories, we should have had the aid senguially of the distinguished Senhave had the aid especially of the distinguished Senator from Missouri, [Mr. Benton,] and when he announced his opposition to that measure I was in-

But, sir, I have no right to complain. The Sena

thinks proper to pursue.

The argument is, that the Proviso is unnecessary.
I answer, there, then, can be no error in insisting upon it. But why is it unnecessary? It is said, first, by reason of climate. I answer, if this be so, with your case of cumate. I answer, it this be so, why do not the representatives of the slave States concede the Proviso? They deny that the climate prevents the introduction of slavery. Then I will leave nothing to a contingency. But, in truth, I think the weight of argument is against the proposition. Is there any climate where slavery, has not existed? It

mon with all the free citizens of the State. But it is, moreover, an indispensable institution. You may separate slavery from South Carolina, and the State will still remain; but if you subvert freedom there, the State will cease to exist. But the principle of this

California?

Sir, there is no climate uncongenial to slavery. It is true it is less productive than free labor in many northern countries. But so it is less productive than free white labor in even tropical climates. Labor is in demand quick in all new countries. Slave labor I had not been born in a land where slavery existed and this land was all of it north of the 40th parallof latitude; and if I did not know the struggle it he cost, and which is yet going on, to get complete relief from the institution and its baleful consequences. I desire to propound this question to those who are now in favor of dispensing with the Wilmot Proviso, Was the Ordinance of 1787 necessary or not? Necessary, we all agree. It has received too many eulogiums to be now decried as an idle and many eulogiums to be now decred as an idle and superfluous thing. And yet that Ordinance extended the inhibition of slavery from the 37th to the 40th parallel of north latitude. And now we are told that the inhibition named is unnecessary anywhere north of 36 degrees 30 minutes! We are told that we may rely upon the laws of God, which prohibit slave the property of that line and that it is absent to relabor north of that line, and that it is absurd to re-enact the laws of God. Sir, there is no human enactment which is just that is not a re-enactment of the law of God. The Constitution of the United states and the Constitutions of all the States are full of such re-enactments. Wherever I find a law of God or a law of nature disregarded, or in danger of being disregarded, there I shall vote to reaffirm it, with all he sanction of the civil authority. But I find no uthority for the position that climate prevents slavery anywhere. It is the indolence of mankind in

yery anywhere. It is the indoleace of manking in any climate, and not the natural necessity, that introduces slavery in any climate.

I shall dwell only very briefly on the argument derived from the Mexican laws. The proposition, that those laws must remain in force until altered by laws of our own, is satisfactory; and so is the proposition that those Mexican laws abolished and continue to hat those Mexican laws abolished and continue to ohibit slavery. And still I deem an enactment by reselves wise and even necessary. Both of the opositions I have stated are denied with just as such confidence by Southern statesmen and jurists they are affirmed by those of the free States. The opulation of the new Territories is rapidly become ng an American one, to whom the Mexican code will seem a foreign one, entitled to little deference or

Slavery has never obtained anywhere by expres egislative authority, but always by trampling down aws higher than any mere municipal laws—the laws of nature and of nations. There can be no opprestioned. And there is some possibility, if not a prob-ability, that the institution may obtain a foothold surreptitiously, if it should not be absolutely forbid-

den by our own authority.

What is insisted upon, therefore, is not a mere abstraction or a mere sentiment, as is contended by those why waive the Proviso. And what is conclusive on the subject is, that it is conceded on all hands that the effect of insisting on it prevents the intrusion of slavery into the region to which it is prepared to apply it.

Intusion of slavery into the region to which it is proposed to apply it.

It is insisted that the diffusion of slavery will not increase its evils. The argument seems to me merely specious and quite unsound. I desire to propose one or two questions in reply to it. Is slavery stronger or weaker in these United States, from its diffusion into Missouri? Is slavery weaker or stronger in these United States, from the exclusion of it from the Nanhwest Territory? The answers to these in these United States, from the exclusion of it from
the Northwest Territory? The answers to these
questions will settle the whole controversy.
And this brings me to the great and all-absorbing
argument that the Union is in danger of being dissolved, and that it can only be saved by compromise.
I do not know what I would not do to save the
Union; and therefore I shall bestow upon this subiest a very deliberate consideration.

ct a very deliberate consideration. I do not overlook the fact that the entire delegatio om the slave States, although they differ in regard from the slave States, although they differ in regard to the details of compromise proposed, and perhaps in regard to the exact circumstances of the crisis, seem to concur in this momentous warning. Nor do I doubt at all the patriotic devotion to the Union which is expressed by those from whom this warning proceeds. And yet, sir, although such warnings have been uttered with impassioned solemnity in my hearing every day for near three months, my confidence in the Union remains unshaken. I think they are to be received with no inconsiderable disconfidence in the Union remains unsuaker.

they are to be received with no inconsiderable distrust, because they are uttered under the influence of a controlling interest to be secured, a paramount object to be gained; and that is an equilibrium of power in the Republic. I think they are to be received with even more distrust, because, with the most profound respect, they are uttered under an obviously high excitement. Nor is that excitement an unnatural one. It is a law of our nature that an unnatural one. It is a law of our nature that an unnatural one, it is a law of our nature that subject of slavery, brings up slavery as an incident, and the incident supplants the principal question. We hear of nothing but slavery, and we can talk of the slavery. And now, it seems to me that the consequent necessity for calmess and candor.

I think they are to be distrusted, because there is a diversity of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative of opinion in regard to the nature and operative opinion in regard to the nature opinion in

House of Representatives.

Sir, in my humble judgment, it is not the fierce of the fever of party spirit. It is merely a paralysis of parties, premonitory however of their restoration with new elements of health and vigor to be imbibed om that spirit of the age which is so justly called

Progress.

Nor is the evil that of unlicensed, irregular, and Not is the evil that of unificensed, irregular, and turbulent faction. We are told that twenty Legislatures are in session, burning like furnaces, heating and inflaming the popular passions. But these twenty Legislatures are constitutional furnaces. They are performing their customary functions, imparting healthful heat and vitality while within their constitutional jurisdigition. onstitutional jurisdiction. If they rage beyond its mits, the popular passions of this country are not tall, I think, in danger of being inflamed to excess. No, sir; let none of these fires be extinguishers. d. Forever let them burn and blaze. They are either ominous meteors nor baleful comets, but lanets; and bright and intense as their heat may

be, it is their native temperature, and they must still obey the law which, by attraction toward this solar centre, holds them in their spheres.

I see nothing of that conflict between the Southern and Northern States, or between their repre-sentative bodies, which seems to be on all sides of me assumed. Not a word of menace, not a word of anger, not an intemperate word, has been uttered in the Northern Legislatures. They firmly but calmly assert their convictions; but at the same time they assert their unqualified consent to submit to the com-

on arbiter, and for weal or wo abide the fortunes f the Union. What if there be less of moderation in the Legis-What if there be less of moderation in the Legislatures of the South? It only indicates on which side the balance is inclining, and that the decision of the momentous question is near at hand. I agree with those who say that there can be no peaceful dissolution—no dissolution of the Union by the secession of States; but that disunion, dissolution, happen when it may, will and must be revolution. I discover no omens of revolution. The predictions of the political astrologers do not agree as to the time or manner in which it is to occur. According to the authority of the honorable Senator from Alabama, [Mr. Clemens,] the event has already happened, and the Union is now in ruins. According to the honorable and distinguished Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun,] it is not to be immediate,

Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun,] it is not to be immediate, but to be developed by time.

What are the omens to which our attention is di-What are the omens to which our attention is directed? I see nothing but a broad difference of opinion here, and the excitement consequent upon it.

I have observed that revolutions which begin in the palace seldom go beyond the palace walls, and they affect only the dynasty which reigns there. This revolution, if I understand it, began in this Senate chamber a year ago, when the representatives from the Southern States assembled here and addressed their constituents on what were called the aggressions of the Northern States. No revolution was designed at that time, and all that has happened since is the return to Congress of legislative resolutions, which seem to me to be conventional responses to the address which emanated from the esponses to the address which emanated from the

but there is nothing new in that: we have already admitted seventeen before. But it is said that the slave States are in danger of losing political power by the admission of the new State. Well, sir, is there anything new in that? The slave States have always and the slave slave always and the slave the change is constitutionally made, and the Government was constructed so as to permit changes of the balance of power, in obedience to changes of the forces of the body politic. Danton used to say, "It's all well while the people cry Danton and Robespierre; but wo for me if ever the people learn to say, Robespierre and Danton!" That is all of it, sir. The people have been accustomed to say the sir. The people have been accustomed to say, the South and the North; they are only beginning now to say, the North and the South.

Sir, those who would alarm us with the terrors of

revolution have not well considered the structure of this Government, and the organization of its forces. It is a Democracy of property and persons, with a fair approximation towards universal education, and nothing to a contingency. But, in truth, I think the weight of argument is against the proposition. Is there any climate where slavery has not existed? It thas prevailed all over Europe, from sunny Italy to bleak England, and is existing now, stronger than in any other land, in ice-bound Russia. But it will be

who has told us, in regard to factions, that "no safe losophy meekly expresses her distrust of the asserted high northern latitude, what security does climate afford against the transplantation of the more gentle, more docile, and already enslaved and debased African to the genial climate of New Mexico and Eastern day, I trust, is far off when the fountains of popular day, I trust, is far off when the fountains of popular contentment shall be broken up; but. whenever it shall come, it will bring forth a higher illustration than has ever yet been given of the excellence of the Democratic system; for then it will be seen how calmly, how firmly, how nobly, a great people can act in preserving their Constitution: whom "love of country moveth, example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, and glory exalteth."

When the founders of the new Republic of the be broadly and deeply shaded with fraternal blood, they may come to the discovery then, if not before, that the natural and even the political connections of the region embraced forbid such a partition; that cific; and that Nature and Commerce have allied indissolubly for weal and we the seceders and those from whom they are to be separated; that, while they would rush into a civil war to restore an imaginary equilibrium between the Northern States and the Southern States, a new equilibrium has taken its and the boundless West is on the other.

Sir, when the founders of the new Republic of the South come to draw those fearful lines, they will in-

ken off from their connection with the Atlantic, through the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, and the Mississippi; what portion of this people are to be denied the use of the lakes, the railroads, and the canals, now constituting accompany of the canals, the railroads. trade, and social intercourse; what families and kindred are to be separated, and converted into enemies; and what States are to be the seenes of perpetual border warfare, aggravated by interminable horrors of servile insurrection. When those portentous lines shall be drawn, they will disclose what portion of this neonle is to retain the army and the news and this people is to retain the army and the navy, and the flag of so many victories; and, on the other hand, what portion of the people is to be subjected to new and ominous imposts, direct taxes, and forced loans, and conscriptions, to maintain an opposing army, an opposing navy, and the new and hateful banner of sedition. Then the projectors of the new Republic of the South will meet the question—and they may well prepare now to enswer it—What is they may well prepare now to answer it—What is all this for? What intolerable wrong, what unfra-

all this for? What intolerable wrong, what unfraternal injustice, have rendered these calamities unavoidable? What gain will this unnatural revolution bring to us? The answer will be: All this is done to secure the institution of African slavery.

And then, if not before, the question will be discussed, What is this institution of slavery, that it should cause these unparalleled sacrifices and these disastrous afflictions? And this will be the answer: When the Spaniards, few in number, discovered the Western Indies and adjacent continental America, they needed labor to draw forth from its virgin stores some speedy return to the cumdity of the the indolent, inoffensive, and confiding natives, who perished by thousands, and even by millions, under that new and unnatural bondage. A humane eccle-siastic advised the substitution of Africans reduced stastic advised the substitution of Africans reduced to captivity in their native wars, and a pious princess adopted the suggestion, with a dispensation from the head of the church, granted on the ground of the prescriptive right of the Christian to enslave the heathen, to effect his conversion. The colonists of North America, innocent in their unconsciousness of wrong, encouraged the slave traffic, and thus the labor of subduing their territory devolved chiefly upon the African race. A happy conjuncture brought on an awakening of the conscience of mankind to the injustice of slavery, simultaneously with the independence of slavery, simultaneously with the independence of the Colonies. Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, welcomed and embraced the spirit of universal emancipation. Renouncing luxury, they secured influence and empire. But the States of the South, misled by a new and profitable culture elected to

misled by a new and profitable culture, elected to maintain and perpetuate slavery, and thus, choosing luxury, they lost power and empire.

When this answer shall be given, it will appear that the question of dissolving the Union is a complex question; that it embraces the fearful issue whether the Union shall stand, and slavery, under the steady, presently action of more local and rolitical gausses. peaceful action of moral, social, and political causes, be removed by gradual, voluntary effort, and with compensation, or whether the Union shall be dis-

On the other hand, our statesmen say that "slavery has always existed, and, for aught they know or can do, it always must exist. God permitted it,

of his Holy Spirit, to seek out his will and execute it for ourselves.

Here, then, is the point of my separation from both of these parties. I feel assured that slavery must give way, and will give way, to the salutary instructions of economy, and to the ripening influences of humanity; that emancipation is inevitable, and is near; that it may be hastened or hindered; and that whether it be peaceful or violent, depends u on the question whether it be hastened or hindered; that all measures which fortify slavery or extend it tend to the consummation of violence; all that ed; that an measures which formy slavery or extend it, tend to the consummation of violence; all that check its extension and abate its strength, tend to its peaceful extirpation. But I will adopt none but lawful, constitutional, and peaceful means, to secure even that end; and none such can I or will I forego. Nor do I know any important or responsible body that proposes to do more than this. No free State claims to extend its legislation into a slave State. willing as yet to receive such suggestions, or even to entertain the question of emancipation in any

But, sir, I will take this occasion to say that,

But, sir, I will take this occasion to say that, while I cannot agree with the honorable Senator from Massachusetts in proposing to devote-eighty millions of dollars to remove the free colored population from the slave States, and thus, as it appears to me, fortify slavery, there is no reasonable limit to which I am not willing to go in applying the national treasures to effect the peaceful, voluntary removal of slavery itself.

I have thus endeavored to show that there is not now, and there is net likely to occur, any adequate cause for revolution in regard to slavery. But you reply that, nevertheless, you must have guaranties; and the first one i for the surrender of fugitives from labor. That guaranty you cannot have, as I have already shown, because you cannot roll back the tide of social progress. You must be content with what you have. If you wage war against us, you can, at most, only conquer us, and then all you can get will be a treaty, and that you have already.

But you insist on a guaranty against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. But you insist on a guaranty against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or war. Well, when you shall have declared war against us.

of slavery in the District of Columbia, or war. Well, when you shall have declared war against us, what shall hinder us from immediately decreeing that slavery shall cease within the national capital? You say that you will not submit to the exclusion of slaves from the new Territories. What will you gain by resistance? Liberty follows the sword, although her sway is one of peace and beneficence. Can you propagate slavery then by the sword?

You insist that you cannot submit to the freedom with which slavery is discussed in the free States. Will war—a war for slavery—arrest or even moderate that discussion? No, sir; that discussion will not cease; war would only inflame it to a greater height. responses to the address which emanated from the Capitol.

Capitol.

Sir, in any condition of society there can be no revolution without a cause, an adequate cause. What cause exists here? We are admitting a new State; but there is nothing new in that: we have already admitted seventeen before. But it is said that the slave States are in danger of losing political power by the admission of the new State. Well six is will not cease; war would only inflame it to a greater height. It is a part of the eternal conflict between truth and error—between mind and physical force—the conflict of man against the obstacles which oppose his damped to the property of the extension. It is a part of the eternal conflict between truth and error—between mind and physical force—the conflict of man against the obstacles which oppose his on until you shall terminate it in the only way in which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by the case; war would only inflame it to a greater height. yielding to it—yielding in your own time, and in your own manner, indeed, but nevertheless yielding to the progress of emancipation. You will do this, sooner or later, whatever may be your opinion now; because nations which were prudent and humane, and wise as you are, have done so already.

Sir the slave States have no resem to fear that

tion from the base of the Carpathian mountains, across the Danube and the Rhine, into the streets of Paris. It is capital that is rapidly rolling back the throne of Napoleon into the chambers of the Tuile

natural superiority of the white race, and confidently denies that such a superiority, if justly claimed, could

give a title to oppression.

There remains one more guaranty—one that has seldom failed you, and will seldom fail you hereafter.

New States cling in closer alliance than older ones. to the Federal power. The concentration of the slave power enables you for long periods to control the Federal Government with the aid of the new States. I do not know the sentiments of the representatives of informia, but my word for it, if they should be admitted on this floor to-day, against your most obstinate opposition, they would, on all guestions really affecting work interests he found to the tions really affecting your interests, be found at your

With these alliances to break the force of emanciwith these animoes to break the force of emancipation, there will be no disunion and no secession. I do not say that there may not be disturbance, though I do not apprehend even that. Absolute regularity and order in administration have not yet been established in any Government, and unbroken popular tranquillity has not yet been attained in even the most advanced condition of human society. The machinery of our system is recessively. The machinery of our system is necessarily com-plex. A pivot may fall out here, a lever may be dis-placed there, a wheel may fall out of gearing elewhere, but the machinery will soon recover its regu-larity and move on just as before, with even better adaptation and adjustment to overcome new obstruc-

There are many well-displaced persons who are alarmed at the occurrence of any such disturbance. The failure of a legislative body to organize is to their apprehension a fearful omen, and an extra-constitutional assemblage to consult-upon public affairs is with them cause for desperation. Even Senators neak of the Union as if it existed only by cor Union was not founded in voluntary choice, nor does it exist by voluntary consent.

A Union was proposed to the colonies by Franklin and others, in 1754; but such was their aversion

lin and others, in 1754; but such was their aversion to an abridgment of their own importance, respectively, that it was rejected even under the pressure of a disastrous invasion by France.

A Union of choice was proposed to the colonies in 1775; but so strong was their opposition that they went through and through the war of Independence without having established more than a mere council of consultation.

But with independence came enlarged interests of agriculture—absolutely new interests of manufac-

agriculture—absolutely new interests of manufac-tures—interests of commerce, of fisheries, of navi-gation, of a common domain, of common debts, of common revenues and taxation, of the administration of justice, of public defence, of public honor; in short, interests of common nationality and sovereignty—interests which at last compelled the adoption of a more perfect union—a National Govern-

ment.
The genius, talents, and learning of Hamilton, of
Jay, and of Madison, surpassing perhaps the intel-lectual power ever exerted before for the establish-ment of a Government, combined with the serene-but mighty influence of Washington, were only sufbut mighty influence of Washington, were only sufficient to secure the relactant adoption of the Constitution that is now the object of all our affections and of the hopes of mankind. No wonder that the conflicts in which that Constitution was born, and the almost desponding solemnity of Washington, in his Farewell Address, impressed his countrymen and mankind with a profound distrust of its perpetuity! No wonder that while the murmurs of that day are yet ringing in our ears, we have cherished that distrust, with pious reverence, as a national and patriotic sentiment!

otic sentiment!

But it is time to prevent the abuses of that sentiment. It is time to shake off that fear, for fear is always weakness. It is time to remember that Government, even when it arises by chance or accident, and is administered capriciously and oppressively, is ever the strongest of all human institutions, surviving many social and ecclesiastical chances and conng many social and ecclesiastical changes and con firmness derived from broader and deeper founda-ions in national justice, and a better civil adapta-ion to promote the welfare and happiness of man-

The Union, the creature of necessities, physical, moral, social, and political, endures by virtue of the same necessities; and these necessities are stronger than when it was produced—stronger by the greater amplitude of territory now covered by it—stronger by the sixfold increase of the society living under its the sixfold increase of the society living under its beneficent protection—stronger by the augmentation ten thousand times of the fields, the workshops, the mines, and the ships of that society; of its productions of the sea, of the plough, of the loom, and of the anvil, in their constant circle of internal and interpational exchange—stronger in the long rivers penetrating regions before unknown—stronger in all the artificial roads, canals, and other channels and avenues essential not only to trade but to defence—stronger in steam navigation, in steam locomotion on the land, and in telegraph communications, unknown when the Constitution was adopted—stronger in the freedom and in the growing empire of the seas—stronger in the element of national honor in all lands, and stronger than all in the now settled habits of veneration and affection for institutions so suppendous and so useful.

The Union, then, is, not because merely that men

The Union, then, is, not because merely that men choose that it shall be, but because some Government must exist here, and no other Government than this can. If it could be dashed to atoms by the whirlwind, the lightning, or the earthquake, to-day, it would rise again in all its just and magnificent

This nation is a globe still accumulating upon accumulation, not a dissolving sphere.

I have heard somewhat here, and almost for the first time in my life, of divided allegiance—of allegiance to the South and to the Union—of allegiance to States severally and to the Union. Sir, if sympathies with State emulation and pridar contractions. states severally and to the Union. Sir, if sympa-thies with State emulation and pride of achieve-ment could be allowed to raise up another sovereign to divide the allegiance of a citizen of the United States, I might recognise the claims of the State to which, by birth and gratitude, I belong—to the State of Hamilton and Jay, of Schuyler, of the Clintons, and of Fulton—the State which, with less than two hundred miles of natural navigation con-nected with the ocean has by her own extensive nected with the ocean, has, by her own enterprise, secured to herself the commerce of the continent, and is steadily advancing to the command of the commerce of the world. But for all this I know only one country and one sovereign—the United States of America and the American People. Any other way all of the country and one sovereign—the United States of America and the American People.

place.
You may tell me, sir, that although all this may be true, yet the trial of faction has not yet been made. Sir, if the trial of faction has not been made, it has not been because faction has not always existed, and has not always menaced a trial, but be cause faction could find no fulcrum on which to place the lever to subvert the Union, as it can find no fulcrum now; and in this is my confidence. would not rashly provoke the trial; but I will no suffer a fear, which I have not, to make me com promise one sentiment, one principle of truth or justice, to avert a danger that all experience teaches me is purely chimerical. Let, then, those who distrust the Union make compromises to save it. I shall not impeach their wisdom, as I certainly cannot their patriotism; but indulging no such apprehensions myself, I shall vote for the admission of California directly without conditions without

nensions myself, I shall vote for the admission of California directly, without conditions, without qualifications, and without compromise.

For the vindication of that vote I look not to the verdict of the passing hour, disturbed as the public mind now is by conflicting interests and passions, but to that period, happily not far distant, when the vast regions over which we are now legislating shall have received their destined inhabitants. have received their destined inhabitants

While looking forward to that day, its countless generations seem to me to be rising up and passing in dim and shadowy review before us; and a voice into the sea; transmit to us even a dishonered name, if you must; but the soil you hold in trust for us—give it to us free. You found it free, and conquered it to extend a better and surer freedom over it. Whatever choice you have made for yourselves, let us have no partial freedom; let us all be free; let the reversion of your broad days in decord

Sixth Street, south of Pennsylvania Avenue. Debate in the Senate on the Right of Petition, containing Speeches of Messrs. Chase, Seward, and Hale. Sixteen

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States, March 11, 1850. Price, \$1 per 100. Speech of Mr. Fowler, of Massachusetts, on the Slavery Question, delivered in the House of Representatives, March 11, 1850. Price, \$1 per 100.

# NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

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Nov. 25.

25 Cornbill, Boston.

EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENCE. BERLIN, February 18, 1850. To the Editor of the National Era: The intense cold weather of January has given

place to weather more disagreeable in every re-

spect. We have had and still have a spell of

dark, foggy, rainy weather. The sun has not once made his appearance, and the streets are as sloppy as the grand thoroughfare of one of your improved towns west of the Alleghanies. It is ust such weather as the Frenchman imagines to be eternal in England. "When you get back," said a Frenchman in London to a friend leaving for Paris, "just tell the sun" bon jour " for me; 1 haven't seen him for a year." Everybody here is afflicted with the headache and the snuffles; indeed, the latter is said to be acclimated in North Germany as a spring epidemic. The snow which lay so deep in the country has melted, and the rivers have most of them overflowed their banks, doing great injury. The overflow of one of them near Liege washed away about three miles of the railroad, causing a delay of from one to two days, in the mail communication between this and London. Even the Rhine has abandoned its usual channels, and deluged the whole country below Cologne. The Prussian Government has ordered out all the able-bodied males in the overflowed districts, for the purpose of erecting dikes to arrest the ravages of the flood. The country near Breslau, in Upper Silesia, has suffered greatly, an immense superficies being entirely under water.

The great event in the Berlin fashionable

world, in the last two weeks, is the concert given

Sunday before last for the benefit of the poor.

The favorite day here for grand concerts is Sunday, and the time twelve o'clock in the morning. The crush was very great at the last one, for the celebrated opera singers, Madames Korter and Florentine, were certainly to sing, and it was not improbable that Jenny Lind would also appear. The tragedian Hendrichs was to declaim, and a number of other musicians little less noted were to take part. Miss Lind disappointed the audience, as she always does in Berlin, having, it would appear, vowed never to appear in the capital of Prussia. The rest of the performance went off according to the programme, excepting complaints of bad colds by the performers, duly sympathized with by the audience, all of whom were more or less affected with the snuffles. The grand hall of the opera house was filled a little before the appointed hour. This hall is said to be one of the finest in Europe. A great deal of elegant carving in wood, beautifully gilded, ornaments the walls, and the gallery which runs quite round the room is supported not by pillars, but by large statues of goddesses and nymphs. When prince Charles and his daughter entered, the audience rose, and remained standing until they were seated. Gen. Van Wrangel, with his colorless face and pale blue eyes, appeared in his everlasting white military coat and his sword clanking by his side. Among the other celebrities, came the Earl of Westmoreland, the able minister resident of the Queen of England. He came to hear his own music, for, in compliment to him, the pieces selected were, most of them, from his masses or operas. The King did not come.

lar and meteor-like passage through this city of Gen. Webb, the American Minister to Vienna. The most attentive observers here were not aware that the General had swept through this place, with all his train, until the Vienna papers announced his arrival there. Perhaps he wished to terrify the Austrians by coming on them suddenly. He seems of late given to a very prompt way of doing business-quitting New York a few days befere the Senate can pronounce on his appointment, and dashing through Europe incognito. The Senate may remind him that it is well to be in a haste, but never in a hurry. Apart from this apparent eccentricity, the newly appointed minister is certainly an improvement on those heretofore sent out, always excepting those to London and Paris. He is a good which is nearly all he will have to do, as in truth endorsing a few passports is all that is required of nine-tenths of our representatives in Europe. ment of international copy-right laws, the delivery of fugitives from justice, and fifty other im-

portant matters now altogether neglected.

tutional monarchy. The late King promised his

Speaking of ministers reminds me of the singu-

subjects a constitution, in 1812, when he wished to arouse them against Napoleon. He forgot it such as my allegiance is, is the loyalpie. And such as my allegiance is, is the loyalpie of every other citizen of the United States. As I speak, he will speak when his time arrives. He knows no other country, and no other sovereign. He has life, liberty, property, and precious affections, and hopes for himself and for his posterity, treasured up in the ark of the Union. He knows as well as it is the ark of the Union. He knows as well as it is the ark of the Union. He knows as well as it is a success of the allies, but the people remembered it in 1848. The present Constitution is made by the King and the two Chambers representing the bourgeousie, but entirely passive before the will of the monarch. It contains as after the success of the allies, but the people refew of the essentials of such an instrument as at all. Before 1848, the King was absolute monthe right of assembling together was not recognised at all, and there was no tribunal before which public opinion could summon the King and his subordinates. On these points, the new Conrecognises very sensible ameliorations, and introdeath-like apathy on politics; the King must in a much more free tone of discussion; a habeas corpus act is in force, and is in most cases regarderywhere, though subject to a thousand annoymeasures of the Government can be sifted and exposed, and the ministry itself arraigned for is certainly greater than in the hundred preceding ones, though not as great as the democrats had a right two years ago to expect, and what they could have accomplished had they not been so credulous. It is unnecessary now to revert to the complicated schemes and faithlessness of the King. They have been heretofore given in this correspondence. The end has been reached. The Constitution, such as it is, has been solemnly

> The ceremony took place in the Berlin palace. which the King has not inhabited since 1848. Before taking the oath, he stated the reservations and restrictions under which he was willing to possible to govern under the Constitution. He did not forget to repeat that he has no personal desire to reign, but considers it a duty imposed upon him by God. The princes of the royal house, with the exception of the heir presump-tive and his son, were present, and took the oath. It is supposed that the Prince of Prussia will not consent to become a constitutional monarch, and that he does not consider the acts of the present King binding on his successor. He may do as the present King of Hanover did, whose predecessor had granted a constitution to the people At his accession, he quietly annulled the instru-Comparatively little interest seemed to be felt

by the people in the ceremony. The large palace square was far from being filled, and not a single square was far from being filled, and not a single shout was raised, not a single hat flung in the air, not a cry of "long live the King?" People came, looked on quietly a while, and went away again. The shops had been opened as usual, and everybody seemed to be about his accustomed business. A magnificent illumination had been commenced for the night. It proved a magnificent failure. The windows of a few houses shone like the diamond walls of Aladdin's cave but in like the diamond walls of Aladdin's cave, but in the rest timid hands had stuck a candle here and there, to avoid reproach. In some blazed a solita ry lamp, recalling vividly to my memory the night in Paris when a gruff captain in the national guard waked me up to order me to stick a lamp in my window. "If not there in fifteen minutes, I will order a volley to be fired through the window into your room." It was cheaper, on the whole, to comply. Here the compulsion is of a different character, but none the less real. The houses not illuminated are noted by the constables, and the occupants subsequently harassed in a variety of ways known only to the ingenuity

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